

HISTORY OF GREECE;

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF THE GENERATION
CONTEMPORARY WITH ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

By GEORGE GROTE

A NEW EDITION
IN TEN VOLUMES—VOL. III.

NEW IMPROVEMENTS.

WITH PORTRAIT, MAP, AND PLATE.

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HISTORY OF GREECE.

PART II.

CONTINUATION OF HISTORICAL GREECE.

CHAPTER III.

ASIATIC IONIAN.

Traced as far as the commencement of historical Greece in 776
B.C., besides the Iyones in Attica and the Cytades, ^{Twelve}
several Ionian cities of note on or near the coast of ^{Ionian cities}
Asia Minor, besides a few others less important. ^{in Asia.}

Enumerated from south to north, they stand—Miletus, Myra,
Priene, Samos, Ephesus, Halicarnassus, Lebedus, Teos, Erythrae,
Chios, Euboea, Rhodus.

That these cities, the great ornaments of the Ionic name, were
founded by emigrants from European Greece, there is no reason
to doubt. How or when they were founded, we have no history
to tell us: the legend which has already been set forth in a
preceding chapter gives us a great event called the ^{legendary}
Ionic migration, referred by chronologists to one ^{which}
special year, 140 years after the Trojan war. This ^{called the}
eventive grouping belongs to the character of legend. ^{Ionian}
^{migration.}

The *Dorians* and *Ionian* migrations, as well as the *Dorian* conquest
of Peloponnesus, are each treated with unity and inspiration
upon the imagination as the results of a single great impulse.

they are induced to adopt among their child's prices of the Kodjod gens or family; who are called sons of Kalrus, but this is not for that reason to be supposed necessarily contemporary with Andrukia or Nukwa.

The clasts selected by some of the natives are said to have been 'Lybian,' of the horned family of *Glaucis* and *Heterophis*: there were other clasts wherein the *Kudrals* and the *Glaucids* were thickly embedded. Requesting the names of these separate sediments, we cannot give any account, for they lie beyond the commencement of authentic history. We are now ground for believing that most of them existed for some time previous to 778 A.D., but at what date the sedimentary schism having the tectonic effect was commenced, we do not know.

The account of Huxtable shows us that these colonies were composed of mixed sections of Greeks—an important circumstance in estimating their character. Each was usually the same more or less in respect to all migrations. Hence the establishments thus planted contacted at once, generally speaking, both more activity and more stability than was seen among those Greeks who remained at home, among whom the old habitual routine had not been disturbed by any marked change of place or of social relations. For in a new colony it became necessary to alter the distribution of the citizens, to merge them together in fresh military and civil divisions, and to adopt new characteristic customs and religious ceremonies as bonds of union among all the citizens conjointly. At the first outset of a colony, moreover, there were inevitable difficulties to be encountered which imposed upon its leaders men the necessity of energy and foresight—more especially in regard to maritime affairs, on which not only their connexion with the countrymen whom they had left behind, but also their means of establishing advantageous relations with the population of the interior, depended. At the same time, the new arrangements indispensable among the colonies were far from working always harmoniously: dissensions and partial stormings were not unfrequent occurrences. And what has been called the mobile

Age Group	Percentage of Respondents
18-29	85%
30-39	80%
40-49	75%
50-59	70%
60-69	65%
70-79	60%
80+	65%

of the Ionic race, as compared with the Dæric, is to be ascribed to a great measure to that mixture of novel and untutored stimulus arising out of expansion. For there is no trace of it in Athens anterior to Solon; while on the other hand, the Dæric colonies of Erythra and Spinares exhibit a population not less civilized than of a Ionic town generally,¹ and much more so than the Ionic colony of Miletus. The remarkable commercial enterprise, which will be seen to characterize Miletus, Samos, and Phœnix, belongs but little to anything connected with the Ionic temperament.

All the Ionic towns, except Klazomenæ and Phœnix, are represented to have been founded as some pre-arranged settlements of Karians, Lelægians, Kretans, Lydians, or Pelasgians.² In some cases these previous inhabitants were evicted, slain or expelled: in others they were accepted as fellow-citizens, so that the Grecian cities thus established, required a considerable tinge of Asiatic customs and feelings. What is related by Herodotus respecting the first establishment of Miletus and his emigrants at Miletus is in this point of view remarkable. They took out with them no women from Athens (the historian says), but found wives in the Karian women of the place, whose husbands and fathers they overcame and put to death; and the women thus violently seized, manifested their repugnance by taking a solemn oath among themselves that they would never cohabit with their new husbands, nor ever call them by their personal names. This same pledge they imposed upon their daughters: but how long the practice lasted we are not informed. We may suspect from the language of the historian that traces of it were visible even in his day, in the family customs of the Milesians. The population of this greatest of the Ionic towns must then have been half of Karian blood. It is to be presumed that what is true of Miletus and his companions would be found true also respecting most of the maritime colonies of Greece, and that the vessels which took them out would be amply provided with women. But on this point unfortunately we are left without information.

¹ Thucyd. vi. 17, about the Miletians. Oppian—*Ischyron*—the Thracians, the Peloponnesians of Rhodes, and Pelion Agæes.

² Herodotus relates the establishment of the Ionic colonies in Asia—*Ischyron*—the Thracians, the Peloponnesians of Rhodes, and Pelion Agæes. *Herodotus* (Lives), i. 17, s. 10, p. 18.

anyway
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source.

people close
to Asia—
mixed with
the Peloponnesians
Ischyron.

was the celebrated prophet Higeia, whom the Boeotian epic described as having gained a victory in prophetic skill over Eekhan; the latter having come to Elarna after the Trojan war in company with Asophaichon son of Asophaon.¹ Such tales attest the early importance of the temple and oracle of Apollo at Elarna, which appears to have been on some sort of eminence, from the great sanctuary of Demachia near Milites; for we are told that the high priest of Elarna was named by the Milesians.² Pausanias states that Higeia expelled the indigenous Earians, and established the city of Kolophôn; and the Ionic settlers under Proerichon and Demaschikhos, sons of Kolos, were admitted annually as additional inhabitants;³ a story probably originating from that of the Kolophoniens themselves, in the time of Mimerstos. It seems evident that not only the Apolline sanctuary at Elarna, but also the analogous establishments on the south of Asia Minor at Phœkia, Miletus, &c., had their own traditional legends (apart from those of the various bands of migrant settlers), in which they connected themselves by the best thread which they could derive with the epic glories of Greece.⁴

Passing along the Ionian coast in a north-westerly direction from Kolophôn, we come first to the small but independent Ionic settlement of Leukos—next, to Teia, which occupies the southern face of a narrow isthmus, Elarnæon being placed on the northern. This isthmus, a low narrow valley of about six miles across, forms the eastern boundary of a very considerable peninsula, containing the mountains and woody regions called Elarnæ and Ekryta. Teia is said to have been first founded by Orchomenian Migeu under Adhemus, and to have received afterwards by consent various streams of settlers, Orchomenians and others, under the Eekhid leaders Apokos, Neukhios, and Demares.⁵ The valuable Teian inscriptions published in the large collection of Boeckh, while they mention certain names and titles of honour which

Leukos,
Teia,
Elarnæon,
&c.

¹ Herod. *op. cit.* lib. ii. p. 64; Cœlia, *lib. ii.* § 1; fragments of the poem called *Elarna (Eekid. Dindorf)*, *Opus. Mus. Frag. p. 17*; Pausan. *lib. ii.* § 1.

² *Teia. Inscrip. n. 10.*

³ Pausan. *lib. ii. § 1.*

⁴ See Webster, *Episthe Colica*, p. 100.

⁵ Herod. *lib. ii. § 1*; Pausan. *lib. ii. § 1*; *Teia. Inscrip. n. 10*; *Apokos* called the Ionic independent Teia (Boeckh, *lib. ii. § 1*).

celebrate a religious festival. The other *Alieia* towns sent ambassadors for the purpose of re-establishing their dispossessed brethren; but they were compelled to submit to an accommodation whereby the Ionians retained possession of the town, restoring to the prior inhabitants all their movable property. These rules were distributed as edicts among the other *Alieia* towns.¹

Syracusa after this became wholly Ionian; and the inhabitants in later times, if we may judge by Aristotle's description, appear to have forgotten the *Alieia* origin of their town, though the fact is attested by Herodotus and by Strabo.² At what time the change took place we do not know, but Syracuse appears to have become Ionian before the celebration of the twenty-third Olympiad (i.e. 688), when Cammarus the Syracusan gained the prize.³ Nor have we information as to the period at which the city was received as a member into the Pan-Ionian Amphiktyony; for the mention of Vitreus is obviously inadmissible, that it was situated at the instance of Adastus king of Pergusa, in place of a previous town called Melita, excluded by the suit for exile-harbour.⁴ As little can we credit the statement of Strabo, that the city of Syracuse was destroyed by the Lydian kings, and that the inhabitants were compelled to live in dispersed villages until its restoration by Antigonos. A fragment of Pindar, which speaks of "the dearest city of the Syracusans," indicates that it must have existed in his time.⁵ The town of Enna, near Melita, though seemingly autonomous,⁶ was not among the contributors to the Pan-Ionian; Myranda seems to have been a dependency of Tels, as Tyrrhena and Marathion were of Ephesus. Siracus, after its re-colonisation by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, seems to have remained separate from and independent of Kolophila; at least the two are noticed by Skylax as distinct towns.⁷

¹ Herod. i. 106; Strabo, *Geographica*, vii. 1. 1. pp. 166, 167. Fragm.—

² See also *Geographica*, vii. 1. 1.

³ Pindar, *Pythian*, vi. 1.

⁴ Strabo, *Geographica*, vi. 1.

⁵ Pindar, *Pythian*, vi. 1.

⁶ Strabo, *Geographica*, vi. 1.

⁷ Skylax, *Periplus*, vi. 1.

⁸ See also *Geographica*, vii. 1. 1. pp. 166, 167.

⁹ Skylax, *Periplus*, vi. 1.

CHAPTER IV.

HOLIC CRUISES IN ASIA.

On the coast of Asia Minor to the north of the twelve Ionian confederated cities, were situated the twelve *Holic* cities, apparently united in a similar manner. Besides Smyrna, the fate of which has already been described, the eleven others were—Tinnus, Larina, Moon-Tellus, Kyus, Ege, Myrina, Cayndem, Kila, Naxos, Agynice, Phank. These twelve are especially noted by Herodotus, as the twelve ancient continental *Holic* cities, and distinguished on the one hand from the Ionian *Holic* Greeks, in Lesbos, Tenedos, and Heliconates—and on the other hand from the *Holic* establishments in and about Mount Ida, which seem to have been subsequently formed and derived from Lesbos and Kyus.¹

Of these twelve *Holic* towns, eleven were situated very near together, clustered round the Helles Gulf: their territories, all of moderate extent, seem also to have been contiguous with each other. Smyrna, the twelfth, was situated to the south of Mount Sipylos, and at greater distance from the remainder—one reason why it was so soon lost to its primitive inhabitants. These towns occupied chiefly a narrow but fertile strip of territory lying between the base of the woody mountain-rings called Sardis and the sea.² Cayndem, like Kolophon and Miletus, possessed a venerated sanctuary of Apollo, of older date than the *Holic* immigration. Larina, Tinnus, and Ege were at some little distance from the sea; the first at a short distance north of

¹ Herodotus, l. i. c. 136. Herodotus does not name Kila, south-west of the Helles, but at the other hand, no other author mentions Agynice. (See Malacra,

Geogr. des Gr. and Romes, 5, p. 122.

² Lycus, or Ege. Plinius, lib. vii. c. 11. Strabo, c. 11. Diodorus, c. 11. Strabo, c. 11.

the Harma, by which its territory was watered and occasionally inundated, so as to render embankments necessary.¹ The last two upon rocky mountain-sides, so inaccessible to attack, that the Libyans were enabled, even during the height of the Persian power, to maintain successfully a substantial independence.² Ilia, situated at the mouth of the river Kufra, became in later times the part of the strong and flourishing city of Targuina; while Poush, the northernmost of the twelve, was placed between the mouth of the Kufra and the lofty promontory of Kari, which closes in the Eritrean Gulf to the northward. A small town Kana close to that promontory is said to have once existed.³

It has already been stated that the legend ascribes the origin of these colonies to a certain special event called the *Laconian Achaean migration*, of which chronographers profess to ^{know} the precise date, telling us how many years it ^{happened} after the Trojan war, considerably before the Ionic migration.⁴ That the Achaes as well as the Ionic inhabitants of Asia were emigrants from Greece, we may reasonably believe, but as to the time or circumstances of these migrations we can pretend to no certain knowledge. The name of the town Larina, and perhaps that of Megara on Mount Sipylus (according to what has been observed in the preceding chapter), has given rise to the supposition that the anterior inhabitants were Peloponnesians, who, having once occupied the fertile banks of the Harma, as well as

¹ Herod. viii. 9, 20.

² Strabo, *Geogr.* iv. 4, 8. The *Strabo* *Geographica* (Oxford, 1877), p. 127, p. 128. It is curious to find his journey from Syria to Persia, crossing the Harma, and coming through Larina, Kana, Sipylus, Targuina, Ilia. He seems not to have passed through Poush, at least he does not name it; moreover, we have the *Strabo* *Geographica* iv. 4, 8. It is curious too, that the north bank of the Harma. In the last map of Asia Minor it is placed, apparently, both on the north bank, but as it is close to the high road from Syria to Egypt. We may infer from ancient passages of *Arrian* (vii. 12, 13, p. 121, p. 122) that Larina was near to the mouth of the Harma from the mountains to which it. According to *Strabo* (vii. 12, 13, p. 121, p. 122), it would appear that Larina was on the rocky bank of the Harma; but

the Italian antiquary of *Arrian* (vii. 12, 13) does not seem to think, which would be to indicate that the territory was at some distance from the sea.

The investigations of modern travellers have not yet thrown light upon the situation of Larina or of the other Achaean towns; see *Arrian*, *Geographica* iv. 4, 8, pp. 121, 122.

³ *Strabo*, vi. 1, 1, p. 121.

⁴ *Strabo*, vii. 1, 1, pp. 121-122, compared with *Strabo* *Geographica*, vii. 1, 1, p. 121, 122, which says that Larina was founded by the Achaean 100 years after the Trojan war; Kana, 50 years after Larina; Megara, 25 years after Kana.

The chronological statements of different writers are collected in *Strabo* *Geographica*, vii. 1, 1, pp. 121, 122.

the time of Kallias they were still the great occupants of the Troad.¹ Gradually the south and west coasts, as well as the interior of this region, became peopled by scattered colonies of *Æolic* Greeks, to whom the iron and ship timber of *Mossia* Isle were valuable acquisitions. Thus the small *Trochian* townships (for there were no considerable cities) became *Æolic*; while on the coast northward of Ili, along the Hellespont and Propontis, Ionic establishments were formed from *Milesian* and *Phœnian*, and *Milesian* colonies were transplanted into the inland town of *Ellypion*.² In the time of Kallias, the *Trochians* seem to have been in possession of *Hemantia* and *Kallia*, with the worship of the *Smæthian Apollo*, in the north-western region of the Troad: a century and a half afterwards, at the time of the *Lamæ* revolt, Herodotus notices the inhabitants of *Gerge* (occupying a portion of the northern region of Ili in the far-westward from *Dardanum* and *Cyphryum*) as "the remnant of the ancient *Trochians*."³ We also find the *Milyænienses* and *Artemians* contending by arms about 800—880 *B.C.* for the possession of *Egeum* at the entrance of the Hellespont.⁴ Probably the *Laræan* settlements on the southern coast of the Troad, lying as they do so much nearer to the island, as well as the *Tenedian* settlements on the western coast opposite *Tenedos*, had been formed at some time prior to this epoch. We further read of *Æolic* inhabitants as possessing *Boæa* on the European side of the Hellespont.⁵ The name *Trochians* gradually vanished out of present use, and came to belong only to the legends of the past; preserved either in connection with the worship of the *Smæthian Apollo*, or by *Æolic* writers such as *Hellanicus* and *Kephala* of *Gerge*, or *Lygia*. From whence it passed to the later poets and to the *Latin* epic. It appears that the native place of *Erychôn* was a town called *Gerge* or *Gergitha* near *Kyus*: there was also another place called *Gergitha* on the river *Kekas*, near its source, and therefore higher up in *Myra*. It was from *Gergitha* near *Kyus* (according to *Strabo*), that the place called

¹ *Kallias* ap. *Plutarch*, vol. p. 284; *Demosthenes* p. 215, who mentions *Æolicians* *Kallia*, &c.

² *Strabo*, vol. p. 497—498.

³ *Herodotus*, v. 125, who also mentions *Lygia*, from the *Trochian* region, *Æolic* *Lygia*, who *Trochians* were the *Lygia*.

Lygia *Strabo*, &c.

⁴ *Strabo*, in the description of *Strabo*, was the *Lygia* situated in the *Lygia*—*Lygia* *Strabo* in the *Lygia* on *Lygia* (Ch. 125).

⁵ *Strabo*, v. 125.

⁶ *Strabo*, in. 125.

Georgia or Mount Ida was settled:¹ probably the non-Hellenic inhabitants, both near Kyzik and in the region of Ida, were of kindred race, but the soldiers who went from Kyzik to Georgia or Ida were doubtless Greeks, and contributed in this manner to the conversion of that place from a Thracian to an Hellenic settlement. In one of those violent displacements of inhabitants, which were so frequent afterwards among the successes of Alexander in Asia Minor, the Thracian-Hellenic population of the Thracian George is said to have been carried away by Antioch of Pergamon, in order to people the villages of Ourgitha near the river Rhaïna.

We must regard the Æolic Greeks as occupying not only their twelve cities on the continent round the Helles Gulf, and the neighbouring islands, of which the chief were Lesbos and Tenedos—but also as gradually penetrating and colonizing the Helles region and the Troad. This last process belongs probably to a period subsequent to 750 B.C., but Kyzik and Lesbos doubtless count as Æolic from an earlier period.

Of Mitylêk, the chief city of Lesbos, we have some facts between the seventh and eighth Olympiad (720—500 B.C.), which unfortunately reach us only in a faint echo. That city then numbered as its own the distinguished names of Pitakos, Sappho, and Alkæon.

Mythology—
the personal
dissemination
of legends.

Like many other Grecian communities of that time, it suffered much from intestine contention, and experienced more than one violent revolution. The old oligarchy called the Protokleis (presumably a gens with hereditary origin), rendered themselves intolerably odious by assaults of the most reckless character: their brutal use of the *klados* in the public streets was avenged by Hippias and his friends, who slew them and put down their government.* About the twenty-second Olympiad (520 B.C.) we hear of Melanobios, a despot of Mitylêk, who was slain by the conspiracy of Pitakos, Kiris, and Antimachos—the last two being brothers of Alkæon the poet. Other despots, Myrsinos, Megakleitos, and the Kleonarchidæ, whom we know only by name, and who appear to have been overthrown chiefly by the better actions of Alkæon, acquired afterwards the sovereignty of Mitylêk. Among all the citizens of the town, however, the

¹ Strabo, xii. 109—112.

² Strabo, *l.c.* x. 2, 16.

alleged that treasuries as a contingent from Athens had arrived in the heat of Agisarchus' against Troy, their descendants had no good a right as any other Greeks to share in the conquered ground. It appears that Pericles felt unwilling to decide this delicate question of legendary law. He directed that each party should retain what they possessed; a verdict² still remembered and appealed to even in the time of Aristotle, by the inhabitants of Teos for against those of Saguntum.

Though Pericles and Alcibiades were both found in the same line of hostilities against the Athenians at Saguntum, yet in the domestic politics of their native city, their bearing was that of bitter enemies. Alcibiades and Antimachus his brother were won over to the party-fuel, and banded: but even as enemies they were strong enough seriously to alarm and afflict their fellow-citizens, while their party at home, and the general discussion within the walls, reduced Mitylene to despair. In the calamitous condition, the Mitylenians had recourse to Pericles, who—with his great mark in the state (his wife belonged to the old gens of the Peraklides), courage in the field, and reputation for wisdom—inspired greater confidence than any other citizen of his time. His

Other representative of Pericles and Alcibiades in domestic politics.

was by universal consent named *Myrmecole* or *Ant* for ten years, with unlimited powers:³ and the appointment proved entirely successful. How effectively he repelled the crises, and maintained domestic tranquillity, is best shown by the angry effusions of Alcibiades; whose songs (unfortunately lost) gave vent to the political hostility of the time in the same manner as the speeches of the Athenian orators two centuries afterwards—and who, in his vigorous invectives against Pericles, did not spare even the coarsest nicknames, founded on alleged personal deformities.⁴ Regarding the proceedings of this eminent Dictator, the contemporary and reported friend of Solon, we know only in a general way, that he succeeded in re-establishing security and peace, and that at the end of his term he voluntarily laid down his power⁵—affording presumption

Pericles in domestic politics, as Alcibiades in domestic politics.

² Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I. 12, 2, where Pericles is mentioned as the author of the decree. Antimachus (probably some time in Athens) regarded Alcibiades, with the deepest hostility.

³ Aristotle, *Pol.* III. 2, 4, 5; Demost.

Solon, *Ant. Rom.* I. 10; Pindar, *Isis*, 10.

⁴ Demost., *Ant.* I. 10.

⁵ Demost., *Ant.* I. 10; Demost., *Ant.* I. 10; Thucyd., *Ant.* I. 10.

not only of probity superior to the laws of ambition, but also of that considerate moderation during the period of his dictatorship which left him without stain as a private citizen afterwards. He enacted various laws for Bithynia, one of which was sufficiently curious to cause it to be preserved and commented on—for it promised double penalties against offences committed by men in a state of intoxication.¹ But he did not (like Mithridates at Athens) introduce any constitutional changes, nor provide any new formal securities for public liberty and good government.² which illustrates the remark previously made, that Solon in doing this was beyond his age and struck out new lights for his successors—also on the score of personal disinterestedness, Pittacus and he are equally unapproachable. What was the condition of Bithynia afterwards, we have no authorities to tell us. Pittacus is said (if the chronological misapprehension of a later age can be trusted) to have died in the 82nd Olympiad (not 872—887). Both he and Solon are numbered among the Seven Wise Men of Greece, respecting whom something will be said in a future chapter. The various anecdotes current about him are little better than uncorroborated embellishments of a spirit of equal and generous oblivion: but his songs and his dialogic compositions were familiar to literary Greeks in the age of Plato.

¹ *Arrian*. *Eccl.* 8. 3, 4; *Strabo*, 15. 66, 4.

A story is told to have been sung by the Bithynians singing down to Solon, when they told what Solon had done: *ἄνθρωποι, δὲ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι*. The proper translation is—*Men, gods, and men*; but Pittacus also preside (the number of gods, *θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι*). This takes the air of a genuine composition of the time, not built by the manner of

Pittacus, and resembling him himself in very interesting fact about Syracuse and Solon's both *ἄνθρωποι καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι*. See *Eccl.* 3. 14, 2. *Plutarch* *Solon* 14. 17. 18. compare it exactly, but if Pittacus had been acquainted to take better notice of the Bithynians.

² *Arrian*. *Eccl.* 8. 3, 4. *Symonides* and *Herodotus* repeat *Symonides*, also in various.

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CHAPTER IV.

ASIATIC DORIANS.

THE *Locals* of Rhodes, Kô, Spak, Nispea, Karon, and Karpathos are represented in the Homeric catalogue as furnishing troops to the Grecian armament before Troy. Historical Rhodes and historical Kô are accepted by Doriens, the former ^{as one} with its three separate cities of Lindos, Jalyssa, and ^{Dorian-}Kamirna. Two other Dorian cities, both on the ^{Dorian-}Homeric adjacent continent, are joined with these four as members of an Amphiklipyia on the Trojans promontory, or south-western corner of Asia Minor—thus constituting an Hexapolis, including Halikarnassos, Telesia, Kô, Lindos, Jalyssa, and Kamirna. Knidos was situated on the Trojans promontory itself; Halikarnassos more to the northward, on the eastern coast of the Karack Gulf: neither of the two are named in Homer.

The legendary account of the origin of these Asiatic Dorians has already been given, and we are compelled to accept their lineage as a portion of the earliest Grecian history, of which no previous account can be rendered. The circumstances of Rhodes and Kô being included in the Catalogue of the Iliad leads us to suppose that they were Greek at an earlier period than the Ionic or Æolic settlements. It may be remarked that both the leaders Antiphos and Philoppos from Kô, and Tiphodemos from Rhodes, are Herakleids—the only Herakleids who figure in the Iliad: and the deadly combat between Tiphodemos and Sarpedon, may perhaps be an heroic copy drawn from real events, which decisions also took place between the Rhodians and their neighbours the Lycians. That Rhodes and Kô were already Dorian at the period of the Homeric Catalogue, I am no reason for doubting. They are not called Dorian in that Catalogue, but we may well suppose that the name Dorian had not at that early period come to be employed as a great distinctive class

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time, as it was afterwards used in contrast with Dorians and Ionians. In relating the history of Phoenice of Argos, I have mentioned various reasons for suspecting that the trade of the Dorians on the eastern coast of the Peloponnese was early; while at an early period, and there may well have been Doric migrations by sea to Krete and Rhodes, anterior to the time of the Ilak.

Herodotus tells us that the six Dorian towns, which had established their Amphiktyony on the Triopian peninsula, were careful to admit none of the neighbouring Dorians to partake of it. Of these neighbouring Dorians, we make out the islands of Argolis, and Kalymna;¹ Karyæ, Karydon, Syriæ, Tithæ, Kana, and Chalkis; also, on the continental coast, Mendeia, situated on the same peninsula with Halikarnassos and Phaselis, on the eastern coast of Lykia towards Pamphyliæ. The strong head-land of Ionia, midway between Klutia and Halikarnassos, would to have been originally founded by Argonæ, but was compelled in consequence of destructive wars with the Karians to admit fresh settlers and a Koloi offered from Miletos;² Karydon and Karydonia seem to have been Karian settlements more or less half-breed. There probably were other Dorian towns, not specially known to us, upon whom this exodus from the Triopian colonisation was brought to operate. The six Amphiktyonised cities were in course of time reduced to five, by the exclusion of Halikarnassos: the reason for which (as we are told) was, that a citizen of Halikarnassos, who had gained a tripod as prize, violated the regulation, which required that the tripod should always be consecrated as an offering in the Triopian temple, in order that he might carry it off to decorate his own house.³ The Dorians Amphiktyony was thus contracted into a Pentaktyia. At what time this incident took place we do not know, nor is it a privilege vulnerable to conjecture that the increasing predominance of the Karian element at Halikarnassos had some effect in producing the exclusion, as well as the individual misbehaviour of the viceroy Agakleia.

¹ See the description in Pausanias's *peloponnesiæ*, 1021-1023; the latter is an *Ionian* description, making a Doric source by the inhabitants of Kalymna.

also *Argolis*, Dr. Dübner's *Herod.*, p. 14.
² *Herod.*, 1. 43, 44.
³ *Herod.*, 1. 122.

CHAPTER XVI.

NATIVES OF ASIA MINOR WITH WHOM THE GREEKS
WERE CONNECTED.

FROM the Grecian settlements on the coast of Asia Minor and on the adjacent islands, our attention must now be turned to those non-Hellenic kingdoms and people with whom they there came in contact.

Our information with respect to all of these is unfortunately very scanty. And we shall not improve our narrative by ^{indiscriminate} taking the catalogue, presented in the *Iliad*, of allies ^{supposed to} of Troy, and considering it as if it were a chapter of ^{of Asia Minor} geography. If any good were resulting of the en-
^{umeration}umerating results of such a proceeding, we may find it in the confusion which discloses so much of the work of Strabo—who perpetually turns aside from the actual and ascertainable condition of the countries which he is describing, to conjectures on Homeric antiquity, often announced as if they were unquestionable facts. Where the Homeric geography is confirmed by other evidence, we note the fact with satisfaction; where it stands unsupported, or difficult to reconcile with other statements, we must venture to reserve upon it as in itself a substantial testimony. The author of the *Iliad*, as he has congregated together a vast body of the different notions of Greeks for the attack of the unconquered hill of Ilium, so he has also summoned all the various inhabitants of Asia Minor to co-operate in its defence. He has planted portions of the Edissians and Lykians, whose historical existence is on the northern coast, in the immediate vicinity of the Troad. Those only will complain of this who have accustomed themselves to regard him as an historian or geographer. If we are content to read him only as the first of poets, we shall be more quarrel with him for a geographical

peninsula of Asia Minor was considered as highly productive by the ancients, in grain, wine, fruit, metals, and in many parts of, though she could control wheat did not cure the slave.¹

Along the western shores of the peninsula, where the various kinds of Greek migrants settled, we hear of Pelasgians, Teuchians, Mysians, Ekkylones, Phrygians, Lydians or Maeonians, Karians, Lelagians. Further eastward are Lydians, Phidians, Ekkians, Phrygians, Egeidians, Paphlagonians, Mariandryans, &c. Speaking generally, we may say that the Phrygians, Teuchians, and Mysians appear in the north-western portion, between the river Hermus and the Troad—the Karians and Lelagians south of the river Mæander,—and the Lydians in the central region between the two. Pelasgians are found here and there, seemingly both in the valley of the Hermus and in that of the Euxine. Even in the time of Herodotus, there were Pelasgian settlements at Pholis and Skylakia on the Propontis, westward of Kyzikos: and O. Müller would trace the Thracian Pelasgians to Thyrä, an inland town of Lydia, whence he imagines (though without much probability) the name Teuchian to be derived.

One important fact to remark, in respect to the native population of Asia Minor at the first opening of this history, is, that they were not aggregated into great kingdoms or confederations, nor even into any large or populous cities—but distributed into many inconsiderable tribes, so as to present no overwhelming resistance, and threaten no formidable danger, to the successive bodies of Greek emigrants. The only exception to this is, the Lydian monarchy of Sardis, the real strength of which begins with Gyges and the dynasty of the Mermanides, about 700 B.C. Though the increasing force of that kingdom ultimately extinguished the independence of the Greeks in Asia, it seems to have never impeded their development, as it stood when they first arrived and for a long time afterwards. Nor were either Carians or Mysians united under any one king, so as to possess facilities for aggression or conquest.

¹ Ciba, *The Large Mammals*, p. 8; Stenbo, *op. cit.* p. 171; *Illustrat.* p. 11. For the history of capture of the animal and

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seen on the two sides of the Dardanelles, alike brave, predatory, and unscrupulous. The Bithynians of Asia are also sometimes called Bithynians, rather with dissimulation than served as far southward as the Gulf of Kice in the Propontis.¹ They have come in contact with Mysians, Thracians, and Phrygians. Along the southern coast of the Propontis, between the rivers Rhodanus and Alysus, in immediate neighbourhood with the powerful Greek colony of Byzantium, appear the Dolians; next, Pelasgians at Philia and Skylakê; then Lydians, along the coast of the Hellespont near Abydos and Lampakia, and occupying a portion of the Troad, we find numerous tracts of other Bithynians.² In the interior of the Troad, or the region of Iliu, are Trojans and Mysians. The latter seem to extend southward down to Pergamum and the region of Mount Sipylus, and eastward to the mountainous regions called the Mysian Olympus, south of the lake Askanius, near which they join with the Phrygians.³

As far as any positive opinion can be formed respecting nations of whom we know so little, it would appear that the Mysians and Phrygians are a sort of connecting link between Lydians and Karians on one side, and Thracians (European as well as Asiatic) on the other — a remote ethnic affinity pervading the whole. Ancient ethnologists are spoken of in both directions across the Hellespont and the Thracian Bosphorus. It was the opinion of some that

extended
affinities
and im-
migration.

121, 122, 123, 124; Herodotus, l. ii, c. 11, 12, 13; Strabo, l. x, c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

1. H. M. Thucydides provides Bithynians on the coast of the Hellespont. 2. H. M. Thucydides, l. ii, c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

3. H. M. Thucydides, l. ii, c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 37

From such tales of early migration both ways across the Bosphorus and the Bosporos, all that we can with any certainty infer is, a certain measure of affinity ^{Partial identity of legends.} among the population of Thrace and Asia Minor—especially visible in the case of the Phrygians and Mysians. The name and legends of the Phrygians here Mela are connected with different names throughout the extensive region of Asiatic Phrygia—Kilicium, Pisirria, Achyra,¹ Gordium—as well as with the neighbourhood of Mount Saros in Macedonia. The adventure whereby Mela got possession of Saros, naming wine with the spring of which he drank, was located at the latter place as well as at the town of Thyssamon, nearly at the eastern extremity of Asiatic Phrygia.² The name Mygdron, and the eponymies here Mygdia, belong not less to the European territory near the river Lahn (afterwards a part of Macedonia) than to the Asiatic coast of the eastern Propontis, between Kios and the river Rhyndakos.³ Otrea and Mygdia are the counterparts of the Phrygians in the East; and the river Olyros, which flowed through the territory of the Asiatic Mygdones into the Rhyndakos, affords another example of homonymy with the Cyprian Therosus⁴ in Europe. And as these coincidences of names and legends conduct us to the idea of analogy and affinity between Thracians and Phrygians, so we find Arctolochia, the earliest poet remaining to us who mentions them as contemporaries, coupling the two in the same simile.⁵ To this early

¹ Diodor. lib. vii. p. 49; Arrian. lib. ii. c. 1; Strabo, lib. x. p. 424. We may also notice the name of *Phrygia* itself *Phrygia* in Phrygia, as pointed out with the name of the Thracian goddess *Rhea* (Strabo, lib. x. p. 424; lib. vii. p. 49).

² Strabo, lib. vii. p. 49; Pausanias, *Mygdonia*, lib. ii. c. 1. In the latter passage a *king* *Mygdos* is mentioned as king of *Mygdos* in *Mygdos*, as pointed out with the name of the Thracian goddess *Rhea* (Strabo, lib. x. p. 424; lib. vii. p. 49).

³ Strabo, lib. vii. p. 49; Pausanias, *Mygdonia*, lib. ii. c. 1. The latter passage is the earliest mention of *Mygdos* in the history of the Thracians. The latter passage is the earliest mention of *Mygdos* in the history of the Thracians. The latter passage is the earliest mention of *Mygdos* in the history of the Thracians.

point, since it is surprising to find a legend of this kind, though it is found in the story of the Thracians, in the story of the Phrygians. Strabo (lib. x. p. 424) points out that the name of the Thracian goddess *Rhea* is found in the story of the Thracians, in the story of the Phrygians. Strabo (lib. x. p. 424) points out that the name of the Thracian goddess *Rhea* is found in the story of the Thracians, in the story of the Phrygians.

⁴ Strabo, lib. vii. p. 49; Pausanias, *Mygdonia*, lib. ii. c. 1. The latter passage is the earliest mention of *Mygdos* in the history of the Thracians. The latter passage is the earliest mention of *Mygdos* in the history of the Thracians.

⁵ Arctolochia, *Phrygia*, in *Strabo*, lib. x. p. 424.

Mount Ida and the Troad. For Apollonians considered that both the Dædaeans and the Teucrians were included in the great Phrygian name;¹ and even in the ancient poem called "Phocæa" (which can hardly be placed later than 600 B.C.), the Teucrians of Mount Ida, the great discoverers of metallurgy, are expressly named Phrygians.² The custom of the Attic tragic poets to call the inhabitants of the Troad Phrygians, does not necessarily imply any translation of inhabitants, but an employment of the general name, as better known to the audience whom they addressed, in preference to the less numerous specific names—just as the inhabitants of Eilipsa might be described either as Eilipsians or as Asiatic Thracians.

If (in the language of Herodotus and Ephorus³ would seem to imply) we suppose the Phrygians to be at a considerable distance from the coast and dwelling only in the interior, it will be difficult to explain to ourselves how or where the early Greek colonists came to be so much influenced by them; whereas the supposition that the tribes occupying the Troad and the region of Ida were Phrygians elucidates that point. And the fact is incontestable, that both Phrygians and Lydians did not only modify the religious manifestations of the Asiatic Greeks, and through them of the Grecian world generally, but also rendered important aid towards the first creation of the Grecian musical scale. Of this the denomination of the scale affords a proof.

Three primitive musical scales were employed by the Greek poets, in the earliest times of which later authors could find any account—the Lydian, which was the most acute—the Dorian, which was the most grave—and the Phrygian intermediate between the two; the highest note of the Lydian being one tone higher, than of the Dorian one tone lower, than the highest note of the Phrygian scale.⁴ So's were the three modes or scales, each

These notes
were upon
the same
Greek scale
used.

These musical
scales
were
derived
from the
Phrygians.

¹ Herod., *lib. i. p. 69*: *καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰδίου*. The Lydian notes (which are 25 letters) and 10 in Greek correspond with the Phrygian being (according to Herod.) 26 letters and 10 in Greek.

² Phocæa, *fragm. i. 42*. *Ἰδίου*, *lib. i. p. 69*.

³ *lib. i. p. 69*.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁴ *lib. i. p. 69*. *καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰδίου*, *lib. i. p. 69*.

⁵ *lib. i. p. 69*. *καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰδίου*, *lib. i. p. 69*.

⁶ *lib. i. p. 69*. *καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰδίου*, *lib. i. p. 69*.

Apollo with the Phrygian Marsyas¹—the culture against the forest; while the Phrygian Minus is further characterised as the religious dweller of Thouska Ophion.

In my previous chapter relating to the legend of Troy,² mention has been already made of the early fusion of the Æolian Greeks with the indigenous population of the Troad. It is from hence probably that the Phrygian music with the flute as its instrument—employed in the august rites and worship of the Great Mother in Mount Ida, in the Mysian Olympus, and other mountain regions of the country, and even in the Greek city of Lauspeketos³—passed to the Greek composers. Its introduction is connected with the earliest Hellenising Greek music, and must have taken place during the first century of the recorded Olympiads. In the Homeric poems we find no allusion to it, but it may probably have accompanied the development of lyric and elegiac compositions which grew up among the post-Homeric Æolians and Ionians, to the gradual displacement of the old æon. Another instance of the fusion of Phrygians with Greeks is to be found in the religious ceremonies of Mycæna, Kna, and Trusa, on the southern and north-eastern coasts of the Propontis. At the first of the three places, the worship of the Great Mother of the Gods was celebrated with much solemnity on the hill of Dindymos, bearing the same name as that mountain in the interior, near Pessinus, from whence Cybele derived her principal surname of Dindymene.⁴ The analogy between the Lyones and Phrygian religious practices has been often noticed, and confused occurs not unfrequently between Mount Ida in Kna and the mountain of the same name in the Troad; while the Testaments of George in the Troad—who were not yet Hellenised, even at the time of

Phrygian music and worship among the Greeks in Asia Minor

¹ Herodotus, *lib. 1. c. 61*; Herodotus, *lib. 2. c. 101*; the latter passage is confirmed by Strabo, as well as Herodotus, *lib. 1. c. 61*.
² *Idem*, *lib. 2. c. 101*; Herodotus, *lib. 2. c. 101*.
³ *Idem*, *lib. 2. c. 101*; Herodotus, *lib. 2. c. 101*.

⁴ The word of Mycæna, Kna, and Trusa, in the north-eastern corner of Phrygia, bear the legend of the Phrygian lion, *lib. 2. c. 101*.
⁵ Herodotus, *lib. 2. c. 101*.

⁶ *Idem*, *lib. 2. c. 101*.

⁷ The legend of Herodotus, *lib. 2. c. 101*, is confirmed by Strabo, *lib. 12. c. 101*, and by the same author, *lib. 12. c. 101*.

⁸ Herodotus, *lib. 2. c. 101*; Strabo, *lib. 12. c. 101*.

⁹ Herodotus, *lib. 2. c. 101*; Strabo, *lib. 12. c. 101*.

Phrygia, Laconia, and Asia of Arishti, in the *Iliad*, shows that horse-breeding was a distinguishing attribute of the region of Iliu, not less in the mind of Homer than in that of Virgil.¹

According to the legend of the Phrygian sons of Gordius on the river Sangarios, the pious Phrygian king Phryges Gordius was originally a poor husbandman, upon the yoke of whose team, as he one day told his folk, an eagle perched and posted himself. Astonished at this portent, he consulted the Teiressean seers to know what it meant, when a master of prophetic lore acquainted him that the kingdom was destined to his family. He espoused her, and the offspring of the marriage was Midas. Soliman afterwards breaking out among the Phrygians, they were directed by an oracle, as the only means of transacting, to choose for themselves as king the man whom they should first see approaching in a wagon. Gordius and Midas happened to be then coming into the town in their wagon, and the crown was conferred upon them. Their wagon, consecrated in the ritual of Gordius to Zeus Daskalos, became entangled from the knotted knot whereby the yoke was attached, and from the entrance of it afterwards by the sword of Alexander the Great. Whosoever could untie the knot, so long the kingdom of Asia was portended, and Alexander was the first whose sword both fulfilled the condition and realised the prophecy.²

Of these legendary Phrygian names and anecdotes we can make no use for historical purposes. We know nothing of any Phrygian kings during the historical times; but Herodotus tells us of a certain Midas son of Gordius, king of Phrygia, who was the first foreign sovereign that ever sent offerings to the Delphian temple, anterior to Gyges of Lydia. This Midas dedicated to the Delphian god the throne on which he was as the heir of a long townsmaster justice. Chronologists have referred the midas in a Phrygian king Midas played by Eusebius in the tenth Olympiad—a sup-

¹ *Iliad*, B. II., v. 27; see Vol. VI., Virgil, *Georgics* B. IV.—

² This story occurs (except those Gordius, Phryges, Alexander) in the *Strabo*, B. I., c. 1.

Plutarch *Life of Alexander* and the *Parasit.*

Vol. I., pp. 25–26, 128–129) has not connected with great accuracy all the legendary incidents respecting Gordius.

³ *Iliad*, B. I., Par. 1, c. 7. According to ancient tale, Midas was son of his father Gordius (Phryges, Strabo, I., B. 129).

position, which there are no means of verifying.¹ There may have been a real Midas king of Gordium; but that there was after any such ruled Phrygian monarchy, we have not the least ground for supposing. The name Gordius son of Midas again appears in the legend of Cybele and Rhea told by Herodotus, as part of the genealogy of the M-hood prince Atræus: here too it seems to represent a legendary rather than a real person.²

Of the Lydians I shall speak in the following chapter.

¹ Herodot. i. 14, with Wesseling's note.

² Herodot. i. 31.

CHAPTER XVII.

LYDIAN.—MISOL.—CIMERIAN.—SCYTHIAN.

THE early relations between the Lydians and the Asiatic Greeks, Lydian— anterior to the reign of Gyges, are not better known than those of the Phrygians. Their native music became partly incorporated with the Greek, as the Phrygian music was; to which it was very analogous, both in instruments and in character, though the Lydian mode was considered by the ancients as more effeminate and sweetening. The flute was used alike by Phrygians and Lydians, passing from both of them to the Greeks. But the organ or *psalm* (a harp with sometimes as many as twenty strings, sounded two together in octave) is said to have been borrowed by the Lesbian Terpander from the Lydians (anapest). The flute-players who acquired esteem among the early Asiatic Greeks were often Phrygian or Lydian slaves; and even the poet Alcman, who gained for himself permanent renown among the Greek lyric poets, though not a slave born at Sparta, as is sometimes said, was probably of Lydian extraction.

It has been already mentioned that Homer knows nothing of Lydia or Lydians. His names *Misodians* is juxtaposition with *Carians*, and we are told by Herodotus that the people now called *Misians* received the new appellation of *Lydians* from *Lydus* son of *Arya*. *Caria*, whose almost inseparable diadem was situated on a precipitous rock on the northern side of the ridge of *Troas*, overlooking the plain of the river *Hæmus*, was the capital of the Lydian kings. It is not named by Homer, though he mentions

¹ Ptolem. *op. Astron.* lib. 5. p. 66; compare Tabula *op. Astron.* lib. 5. p. 66. Ptolem. *Geog.* 5. 4. 4.

both Tmolus and the neighbouring Taurus lake—the location of it was ascribed to an old Lydian king named Miletus, and strange legends were told concerning it.¹ Its possessions were enriched by the neighbourhood of the river Phrygion, which flowed down from Mount Tmolus towards the Hermus, bringing considerable quantities of gold to its mouth. To this river historians often ascribe the abundant treasure belonging to Croesus and his predecessors. But Croesus possessed, besides, other mines near Pagassus,² while another source of wealth is also to be found in the general industry of the Lydian people, which the circumstances mentioned respecting them seem to attest. They were the first people (according to Herodotus) who ever carried on retail trade, and the first to coin money of gold and silver.³

The antiquologists of Lyche in the time of Herodotus (a century after the Persian conquest) carried very far back the antiquity of the Lydian monarchy, by means of a *genealogical* series of names which are in great part, if not altogether, divine and heroic. Herodotus gives us first Minus, Apsa, and Lydus—each a line of kings beginning with Minus, twenty-two in number, succeeding each other from father to son and lasting for 500 years. The first of this line of Herakleid Kings was Agreus, descended from Minus in the fourth generation.—Minus, Aikana, Sinea, Minus, and Agreus. The twenty-second prince of this Herakleid family, after an uninterrupted succession of father and son during 500 years, was Kandaules, called by the Greeks Myrtilus the son of Myrtes. With him the dynasty ended, and ended by one of those curious incidents which Herodotus has narrated with his usual dramatic, yet unaffected, emphasis. It was the divine will that Kandaules should be destroyed, and he lost his national judgment. Having a wife the most beautiful woman in Lydia, his vanity could not be satisfied without exhibiting her naked person to Gyges son of Basylus, his principal confidant and the commander of his guards. In spite of the vehement repugnance of Gyges, this resolution was executed; but the wife became aware of the impious abuse, and took her measures to avenge it. Surrounded by her most faithful domestics, she met for Gyges, and addressed him thus:—"Two ways are now

¹ Herodotus, I. 86.Pausanias, *Mythol.* 2. 2. 10.² Herodotus, I. 86.

B.

open to thee, Gyges: take which thou wilt. Either kill Kandaules, **Herodotus** and thee, and acquire the kingdom of Lydia—or else **Herodotus** thou must at once perish. For thou hast seen forbidden things, and either thou, or the man who contrived it for thee, must die.¹ Gyges in vain endeavored to be spared as terrible an alternative: he was driven to the option, and he chose that which promised safety to himself.² The queen, placing him in ambush behind the bed-chamber door, in the very spot where Kandaules had placed him as a spectator, armed him with a dagger, which he plunged into the heart of the sleeping king.

Thus ended the dynasty of the Meretids; yet there was a **The name** large party in Lydia who indignantly resented the **not a party** death of Kandaules, and took arms against Gyges. **arose in** A civil war ensued, which both parties at length **by the** **Kandaules** succeeded in terminating by reference to the Delphian oracle. The decision of that holy oracle being given in favour of Gyges, the kingdom of Lydia passed to his dynasty, called the Mermnads. But the war accompanied its result with an intimation that in the person of the fifth descendant of Gyges, the murder of Kandaules would be avenged—a warning of which (Herodotus accurately remarks) no one took any notice, until it was actually fulfilled in the person of Croesus.³

In this curious legend, which marks the commencement of the dynasty called Mermnads, the historical basis of Lydia—we cannot determine how much, or whether any part, is historical. Gyges was probably a real man, contemporary with the youth of the poet Archilochus; but the name Gyges is also an heroic name in Lydian mythology. He is the spouseman of the Gygesia lake near Sardis. Of the many legends told respecting him, **Legend of** **Gygesia** **lake** Plato has preserved one, according to which Gyges is **Plato** a more handsome of the king of Lydia: after a terrible storm and earthquake he was once in a chasm in the earth, into which he descended and found a vast house of brass, hollow and partly open, wherein there lay a gigantic corpse with a golden ring. This ring he carried away, and discovered unexpectedly that

¹ Herodotus, l. iii. *αὐτοῦς αὐτὸν δαμάσκειν.*

gambosus—a phrase in which *St. Mark* has inserted an inserted word which it is difficult to discover in *Herodotus*.

² Herodotus, l. iii. *αὐτὸν καὶ θάνατον ἀποδίδωκεν.*

It possesses the miraculous property of rendering him invincible at pleasure. Being sent on a message to the king he makes the magic ring available to his ambition. He first possesses himself of the person of the queen, then with her and assassinate the king, and finally seize the sceptre.¹

The legend thus recounted by Plato, thoroughly Oriental in character, has this one point in common with the Heracleian, that the adventurer Gyges, through the favour and help of the queen, destroys the king and becomes his successor. Favourite preference and patronage are the cause of his prosperity. Hansen has shown² that this "aphrodisiac influence" runs in a peculiar manner through many of the Asiatic legends, both divine and heroic. The Phrygian Midas or Gordius (as before recounted) acquires the throne by marriage with a divinely privileged maiden: the favour, shown by Aphrodite to Antiochia, transfers upon the *Assaria* sovereignty in the Troad: moreover the great Phrygian and Lydian goddess Ilm or Cybele has always her favoured and self-devoting youth Agya, who is worshipped along with her, and who serves as a sort of mediator between her and mankind. The feminine element appears predominant in Asiatic mythos. Midas, Sardanapalus, Sardan, and even Hsienki,³ are described as clothed in woman's attire and working at the loom; while on the other hand the Anaxora and Sardanians achieve great conquests.

Identifying therefore the historical character of the Lydian kings called Mermnada, beginning with Gyges about 715—690 B.C., and ending with Croesus, we find nothing but legend to explain to us the circumstances which led to their accession. Still less can we make out anything respecting the preceding kings, or determine whether Lydia was ever in former times connected with or dependent upon the Kingdom of Assyria, as Kuhn affirmed.⁴ Nor can we verify the reality or date of the

Phrygian legend, running through the legends of Asia Minor.

¹ Plato, *Republic*, B. p. 588; Orosius, *History*, B. 4. p. 418 compare very minutely the ring of Gyges to the legend of Hsienki.

² *Ueber die griechische, römische und die Phrygische, etc.*, 116, 161; compare Midas, *Antiquities*, ch. 1. 2.

³ See the legend of O. Hsienki in

the *Shen-chih*, *Museum für Volkskunde*, B. 4. *China*, *Journal*, ch. p. 21, 22; also *Mythen*, *Der Phrygische*, ch. 1. p. 21—22.

⁴ *Plinius*, B. 2. *Historie* also contains that Lydia was in early days a portion of the Assyrian empire (*Antiquities*, p. 107).

old Lydian kings named by the native historian Xanthos,—*Alkimos, Xanthos, Adramyctes*.¹ One piece of valuable infor-

Diachro-
lineal
division
into parts
Lydia and
Trochilina

mation, however, we acquire from Xanthos—the distribution of Lydia into two parts, Lydia proper and Trochilina, which he traces to the two sons of Atys—Lydius and Trochilus; he states that the dialect of the Lydians and Trochilians differed much

in the same degree as that of Dorians and Ionic Greeks.² Trochilina appears to have included the valley of the Kestus, south of Thafas, and near to the frontiers of Karia.

With Gyges, the Mermnad king, commences the series of *Progressive* aggressions from Sardis upon the *Asiatic* Greeks, which ultimately ended in their subjection. Gyges invaded the territories of Miletus and Smyrna, and even took the city (probably not the island) of Kolophona. Though he then however made war upon the Asiatic Greeks, he was manifest in his donations to the Grecian god of Delphi. His ransoms as well as costly offerings were sent in due temple by Hierodotus. King's compositions of the poet Hieronymus celebrated the valor of the Smyrnaeans in their battle with Gyges.³ We hear also, in a story which bears the impress of Lydia more than of Grecian story, of a beautiful youth of Smyrna named Magesis, to whom Gyges was attached, and who incurred the displeasure of his countrymen for having composed verses in celebration of the victories of the Lydians over the *Aeolians*. To avenge the ill-treatment received by this youth, Gyges attacked the territory of Magesis (probably Magesia on Sipyrius), and after a considerable struggle took the city.⁴

How far the Lydian kingdom of Sardis extended during the reign of Gyges, we have no means of ascertaining. Strabo alleges that the whole 'Troad' belonged to him, and that the Greek settlement of Alpeia on the Hellespont was established by the Milesians only under his auspices. On what authority this statement is made, we are not told, and it appears doubtful,

¹ *Xanthi Fragment*, 35, 33, 34, 35, 36. *Strabo*, *Asiæ*, 1, p. 413; *Strabo*, *Asiæ*, p. 413, 414.

² *Xanthi Fragment*, 1, 2. *Strabo*, *Asiæ*, 1, p. 413, 414. *Strabo*, *Asiæ*, p. 413, 414. The whole geography given by Xanthos

is probably borrowed from Xanthos—*Strabo*, *Asiæ*, 1, p. 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

³ *Strabo*, 1, 12, *Asiæ*, 1, p. 413, 414.

⁴ *Strabo*, *Asiæ*, 1, p. 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁵ *Strabo*, *Asiæ*, 1, p. 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

especially as so many legendary anecdotes are connected with the name of Gyges. This prince reigned (according to Herodotus) thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son Antas, who reigned forty-nine years (about B.C. 878—829). We learn that he attacked the Mithras, and took the famous Ionic city of Priene. Yet this possession cannot have been maintained, for the city appears afterwards as autonomous. His long reign, however, was signified by two events, both of considerable moment to the Asiatic Greeks: the invasion of the Cimmerians, and the first approach to union (at least the first of which we have any historical knowledge) between the inhabitants of Lydia and those of Upper Asia under the Median kings.

It is affirmed by all authors that the Medes were originally numbered among the subjects of the great Assyrian empire, of which Ninus¹ (or Nimus as the Greeks call it) was the chief town, and Babylon one of the principal portions. That the population and power of these two great cities (as well as of several others which the Ten Thousand Greeks in their march found ruined and deserted in those same regions) is of high antiquity,² there is no room for doubting. But it is every incumbent upon a historian of Greece to entangle himself in the maze of Assyrian chronology, or to weigh the degree of credit to which the conflicting statements of Herodotus, Xénophon, Strabo, Abydinus, &c., are entitled. With the Assyrian empire³—which lasted, according to Herodotus, 520 years, according to Xénophon, 1380 years—the Greeks have no ascertainable connection. The city of Ninus⁴ appears to have been taken by the Medes a little before the year 825 B.C. (in so far as the chronology can be made sure), and exercised no influence upon Grecian affairs. These

¹ Herodotus, l. ii.

² Herodotus, *loc. cit.* l. i. c. 17. Strabo, l. vi.

³ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

⁴ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

⁵ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

⁶ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

⁷ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

⁸ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

⁹ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹⁰ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹¹ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹² Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹³ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹⁴ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹⁵ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹⁶ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹⁷ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹⁸ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

¹⁹ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

²⁰ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 101. Strabo, l. vi. c. 101.

But the most early to the reign of First King of Assyria (Sargon) was the city of Ninus.

The Assyrian empire, which was the chief seat of the Assyrian empire, was the chief seat of the Assyrian empire.

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man, which gives a list of Kings of Babylon beginning with what is called the son of Kalamman, or Tili ncu, does not prove at what epoch these Babylonian chiefs became independent of Ninveh: and the catalogue of Median Kings, which Herodotus begins with Dakhis, and at 700—731 B.C., is commenced by Kikbas more than a century earlier—necessarily, the names in the two lists are different almost from first to last.

For the historian of Greece, the Nile first begins to acquire importance about 600 B.C., under a king whose Fed.
Herodotus calls Phraortes, son of Dakhis. Respect- Miles has
ing Dakhis himself, Herodotus recounts to us how —Greece.

the same view as Kikbas, of the destruction of the empire of Ninveh, by the Scythians and Babylonians united, while Herodotus connects successive events of the successive dynasties upon Phoenicia, beginning with king of the Medes, and still leaving Ninveh flourishing and powerful in his own century. Herodotus further connects Phraortes an Indian by Kikbas's son Media about the year 731 B.C., without any mention of destruction—on the contrary, in his representation, it is before the year of Babylon is told of the Median C. 731, hardly from the annual history of that power, but apparently from their having taken Ninveh, although Mr. Clinton tells us, p. 275, that "Ninveh was destroyed C. 600, as we have seen from the united testimonies of the Babylonians and Herodotus, by the Scythians and Assyrians".

Considering fairly the text of Herodotus, it will appear that he conceived the relations of Assyrians, Babylonians, Scythians, and Medes, as being mutually in many material points from Phoenicia, or Persians, or Scythians. And he tells us expressly (vol. 1. p. 275) that he found "two different tales" given respecting Cyrus in 550—much more respecting events anterior to Cyrus by more than a century.

The chronology of the Medes, Babylonians, Scythians, and Greeks, in fact, when we look in the seventh century B.C., supplies some fixed points which give us assurance of accuracy which furnish little, but above the year 731 B.C. we mark fixed points can be detected. We cannot distinguish the historical from the mythical in our authorities—we cannot reconcile them with each other, except by violent

changes and suppositions—we can no longer determine which of these myths is to be set aside in favour of the other. The names and dates of the successive kings down from Kikbasian, to the reign of Phraortes, are distinctly authentic, but they are scarce and scanty. What we seem to require then is, to connect real or supposed matters of fact, drawn from their sources. They only furnish a very slight assistance, to even the names of the kings as reported by different authors in our works, and the Chinese writers as p. 275—"In tracing the descent of Eastern Kings, the Chinese and the Europeans are better guided than the Greeks; for these, from their well-known errors in the chronology which they transpose in passing through the Greek language, add the repetition of a list of an nation for the second, are carelessly repeated, as that the most long prophetic passage we have any authentic appearance". Herodotus, in a last paragraph we are to employ "the Greek and Scythians" to identify the Kings; but unfortunately the name are marked only by the names of Kings, and the transmission are likely to be mistaken, as the source and origin of the names will make false. The last part of identifying the Kings are altogether doubtful, and without will ensure the process of identification as it appears in the Chinese sources, and we find it is in a high degree arbitrary more arbitrary still are the processes which he employs for bringing about a forced harmony between Phoenician authorities. See in Volney's *Chronology of Nations*, vol. 1. p. 275—also more satisfactory in the chronological results.

indefinitely, until the monarch established separate divisions for each. He extended the Median domain to the eastern bank of the Halys, which river afterwards, by the conquests of the Lydian King Croesus, became the boundary between the Lydian and Median empires: and he carried on war for six years with Alyattes king of Lydia, in consequence of the refusal of the latter to give up a band of Scythian Nomads, who, having quitted the territory of Erycæus in order to escape aversion with which they were assailed, had sought refuge as suppliants in Lydia.¹ The war, inactive as respects success, was brought to its close by a remarkable incident. In the midst of a battle between the Median and Lydian armies there happened a total eclipse of the sun, which suspended equal alarm to both parties, and induced them immediately to cease hostilities.² The Median prince Spontoch and the Babylonian prince Labynthus interposed their mediation, and effected a reconciliation between Erycæus and Alyattes, one of the conditions of which was, that Alyattes gave his daughter Arytëis in marriage to Astapage son of Erycæus. In this manner began the connection between the Lydian and Median kings which afterwards proved so ruinous to Croesus. It is affirmed that the Greek philosopher Thales foretold the eclipse; but we may reasonably consider the supposed prediction as not less apocryphal than some others ascribed to him, and doubt whether at that time any living Greek possessed either knowledge or scientific capacity sufficient for such a calculation.³

¹ The passage of such Nomads from Asia into government in the East to pasture, has been always, and must down to the present day, a frequent cause of dispute between the different governments: they are valuable both as warlike auxiliaries and as soldiers. The Scythians invaded three times the Lydian empire, and were expelled to the north-east of Persia frequently pass boundaries and, towards, in their nomadic way, from the Persian territory to the borders of Egypt and Babylon: "was between Persia and Median, have been in our opinion connected by the border of the Nile some the border from Persia into Egypt; so was the East Egyptian desert, Egypt have passed to their nomads passed between the Persians and the Lydians."

See Herodotus, account of the Lydians

or wandering tribes of Persia, in the Journal of the Department of History of London, 1841, vol. vi, p. 141, and, Ed. 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 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It was after this peace with Alyattes, as far as we can make out the series of events in Hecataeus, that Xerxes collected all his forces and laid siege to Miletus, but was obliged to desert by the unexpected arrival of the Scythians. Nearly at the same time, or somewhat before the time, that Upper Asia was desolated by three formidable Hordes, Asia Minor too was overrun by other Hordes—the Cimmerians—Artya being then king of Lydia; and the two invasions, both spreading extreme disaster, are presented to us as intimately connected together in the way of cause and effect.

Steps of
Xerxes's
expedition
of the Scy-
thians and
Cimmerians
into Asia.

The name Cimmerians appears in the Odyssey—the tale describes them as dwelling beyond the coast-straits. The Cimmerians in darkness and exile by the rays of Hades. Of this people as existent we can render no account, for they had passed away, or lost their identity and become subject, previous to the commencement of trustworthy authorities; but they seem to have been the chief occupants of the Taurus Caucasus (Crimea) and of the territory between that peninsula and the river Tyne (Danube), at the time when the Greeks first commenced their permanent settlements on those coasts in the seventh century B.C. The numerous localities which bore their name, even in the time of Hecataeus,¹ after they had ceased to exist as a nation—as well as the tombs of the Cimmerian kings then shown near the Tyne—sufficiently attest this fact. There is reason to believe that they were (like their conquerors and successors the Scythians) a nomadic people, mare-silkens, moving about with their tents and herds, suitably to the nature of those wide-open steppes which their territory presented, and which offered little except barbage in production. Strabo tells us² (on what authority we do not know) that Scy, as well as the Telos and other Thracians, had desolated Asia Minor more than once before the time of Artya, and even earlier than Homer.

The Cimmerians thus belong partly to legend, partly to history; but the Scythians formed for several centuries an important nation of the Greek continent.

The Scy-
thians.

¹ Hecataeus, ix. 11—15. Hecataeus also speaks of a tribe *Κιμμεριοί* (Cimmerians), ibid. p. 104.

Respecting the Cimmerians, consult *Odyssey*, *Chronicles*, p. 100-101. ² Strabo, i. pp. 4, 10, 11.

(perhaps a remnant of the mythical Gimmerians), who dwelt in the southern portion of the Taurus Caucasus (or ^{part to the} Colchis), and who were called by many names to their ^{Colchian-} native virgin goddess—identified by the Greeks with ^{Minotaur.} Artemis, and serving as a basis for the offspring legend of Iphigeneia. The Tauri are distinguished by Herodotus from Scythians,¹ but their manners and state of civilization seem to have been very analogous. It appears also that the powerful and numerous Scythians, who dwelt in Asia on the plains eastward of the Caucasus and westward of the Tiber, were so analogous to the Egyptians as to be reckoned as members of the same race by many of the contemporaries of Herodotus.²

This short examination of the various tribes near the Taurus and the Caucasus, as well as we can make them out from the seventh to the fifth century B.C., is necessary for the comprehension of that double invasion of Scythians and Gimmerians which had waste Asia between 630 and 410 B.C. We are not to expect from Herodotus, born a century and a half afterwards, any very clear explanations of this event, nor were all his informants witnesses respecting the causes which brought it about. But it is a fact perfectly within the range of historical analogy, that nomadic appropriations of number, development of aggressive spirit, or failure in the means of subsistence, among the Nomadic tribes of the Asiatic plains, have brought on the nomadic nations of Southern Europe calamitous invasions of which the primary moving cause was remote and unknown. Sometimes a weaker tribe, flying before a stronger, has been in this manner precipitated upon the territory of a richer and less military population, so that an impulse originating in the distant plains of Central Turkey has been propagated until it reached the southern extremity of Europe, through successive intermediate tribes—a phenomenon especially noticed during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, in the declining years of the Roman empire. A pressure on

¹ Herodot. iv. 96-102. Theophrastus *Periplus* passed his identity Colchians and Tauri (p. 281) as being the same, where the Gimmerians are placed as the Asiatic part of the Caucasian Scythians adjacent to the Tiber.

² Herodot. i. 101. Strabo compares the Scythians of the Nile, which was the name applied by the Persians to the Scythians, to those of the Caspian Sea and the Tiber (ii. p. 641-642).

transmitted onward is said to have brought down the Claustricans and Scythians upon the more southerly regions of Asia. The most ancient story in explanation of the incident seems to have been contained in the epic poem (now lost) called *Armasia*, of the mythical Aristeus of Prokonnestos, composed apparently about 640 B.C. This poet, under the inspiration of Apollo, undertook a pilgrimage to visit the sacred Hyperboreans (special votaries of that god) in their alpsheim beyond the Hircanian mountains; but he did not reach farther than the Issedones. According to Irenæus, the movement, whereby the Claustricans had been expelled from their possessions on the Euxine Sea, began with the Grypes or Griffins in the extreme north—the sacred character of the Hyperboreans beyond was incompatible with aggression or bloodshed. The Grypes invaded the Arimasians, who on their part named their neighbours the Issedones.* These latter moved southward or westward and drove the Scythians across the Tanais; while the Scythians, moved forward by this onset, expelled the Claustricans from their territories along the Taurus Media and the Euxine.

We see that Aristeus referred the attack of the Scythians upon the Claustricans to a distant *anterior* proceeding in the first instance from the Grypes or Griffins. But Herodotus had heard it explained in another way which he seems to think more correct—the Scythians, originally occupants of Asia, or the regions east of the Caspian, had been driven across the *Amasis*, in consequence of an unsuccessful war with the Massagetae, and precipitated upon the Claustricans in Europe.[†]

When the Scythian host approached, the Claustricans were not agreed among themselves whether to resist or retire. The majority of the people were dissuaded and wished to evacuate the territory, while the kings of the different tribes resolved to fight and perish at home. Those who were associated with each force despair divided themselves along with the kings into two equal bodies, and perished by each other's hands near the river Tysa, where the sepulchres of the kings were yet shown in the time of

* Herodot. ix. 42. *ἀρμασίης* *ἱσσηδόνων*.

† Herodot. ix. 42.

* Herodot. ix. 42. "But I must show again, that this, of persons leaving their own country."

Hærodotus.¹ The sons of the Germanians fled and abandoned their country to the Scythians; who, however, not content with the possession of the country, followed the fugitives across the Germanian Bosphorus from west to east, under the command of their prince Madyls son of Protephilus. The Germanians, coasting along the east of the Bæltic Sea and passing to the west of Mount Caucasus, made their way first into Kolchis, and next into Asia Minor, where they established themselves on the peninsula on the northern coast, near the site of the subsequent Grecian city of Sinope. But the Scythians, pursuing, mistaking the course taken by the fugitives, followed the more direct route east of Mount Caucasus, not to the Caspian Sea,² which brought them, not into Asia Minor, but into Media. Both Asia Minor and Media became thus exposed nearly at the same time to the attacks of northern Nomads.

These two stories, representing the belief of Hærodotus and Aristotle, involve the assumption that the Scythians were comparatively recent invaders into the territory between the Ister and the Pæon Klusis. Yet the legends of the Scythians themselves, as well as those of the Pæon Greeks, imply the contrary of this assumption; and describe the Scythians as primitive and indigenous inhabitants of the country. Both legends are so framed as to explain a triple division, which probably may have prevailed, of the Scythians aggregate nationality, traced up to three heroic brothers: both also agree in asserting the predominance to the youngest brother of the three,³ though, in other respects, the names and incidents of the two are altogether different. The Scythians called themselves Skoloi.

Such material differences, in the various accounts given to Hærodotus of the Scythian and Germanian invasions of Asia, are by no means wonderful, seeing that nearly two centuries had elapsed between that event and his visit to the Pontus. That the Germanians (perhaps

mentioned
in the
Chronicle of
Hærodotus.

¹ Hærodot. iv. 11.

² Hærodot. iv. 10-12.

³ Hærodot. iv. 1-3. At this day, the Greek great father of the Germanic Tribes was still the most famous leader

of Franks near the Rhine—the Varang, the Goths, and the Teutons—seen to have been a boundary probably derived from some German Officer, Narrative of a Journey in Germany, p. 303.

the northernmost portion of the great Thracian name and confederations with the Getae on the Danube) were the previous tenants of much of the territory between the latter and the Palus Maeotis, and that they were expelled in the seventh century B.C. by the Scythians, we may follow Herodotus in believing. But Niebuhr has shown that there is great intrinsic improbability in his narrative of the march of the Cimmerians into Asia Minor, and in the pursuit of these fugitives by the Scythians. That the latter would pursue at all, when an extensive territory was abandoned to them without resistance, is hardly supposable; that they would pursue and mistake their way, is still more difficult to believe: nor can we overlook the great difficulties of the road and the Cimmerian passes, in the route ascribed to the Cimmerians.¹ Niebuhr supposes the latter to have marched into Asia Minor by the western side of the Euxine and across the Thracian Bosphorus, after having been defeated in a decisive battle by the Scythians near the river Tyne, where their last kings fell and were interred.² Though this is both an easier route, and more in accordance with the analogy of other occupants expelled from the same territory, we must, in the absence of positive evidence, treat the point as unascertained.

The issue of the Cimmerians into Asia Minor was doubtless connected with their expulsion from the northern coast of the Euxine by the Scythians, but we may well doubt whether it was at all connected (as Herodotus had been told that it was) with the invasion of Media by the Scythians, except as happening near

¹ Read the description of the difficult route of the Cimmerians, with a more detailed sketch, from Ptolemy in Strabo, for this route, between the western edge of Caucasus and the Euxine (Strabo, vi. p. 495, ed. 1874) the *Agathos en Euxine*. Niebuhr remarks—*all geographical and historical testimony indicates positively that, as would follow from the Cimmerians' passage through Pontus, it is probable that they thought the route shall for his march.*

It appears the Cimmerians follow with their wagons passing along such a road would require strong military aid. According to Ptolemy, however, they were not joined into the range of Caucasus—the Caucasus or

Albanian gates, near Gendak and the Caucasus, and the Scythians follow, consequently more to the westward (Ptolemy, Geogr. v. 4). Niebuhr, *Handbuch der Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii. part 2d, p. 201. It is not accurate that the Cimmerians ever have followed the westward, and the Scythians the eastward, of these two passes; but the whole story is completely well illustrated.

² See Niebuhr's description above referred to, p. 201-202. A reason for supposing that the Cimmerians came into Asia Minor from the west will also flow from the fact, that we find them in quick communication with the Thracian Tribes, indicating obviously a joint invasion.

dash into a banquet, and slew them in the hour of intoxication. The Assyrians last were expelled, the Medes resumed their empire. Herodotus tells us that these Assyrians returned to the Taurus Caucasus, where they found that during their long absence, their wives had intermarried with the slaves, while the new offspring which had grown up refused to recognize them. A deep trench had been drawn across a line over which their march lay,¹ and the new-grown youth defended it with bravery, until at length (so the story runs) the returning masters took up their whips instead of arms, and scourged the rebellious slaves into submission.

Little as we know about the particulars of these Commanas and Assyrian invasions, they deserve notice as the first (at least the first historically known) among the numerous incursions of civilized Asia and Europe by the Nomads of Turbany. Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, &c., are found in subsequent centuries repeating the same incursions, and establishing a dominion both more durable, and not less destructive, than the transient ascendency of the Assyrians during the reign of Kyaxares.

After the expulsion of the Assyrians from Asia, the full extent and power of the Median empire was re-established; and Kyaxares was enabled again to besiege Nineveh. He took that great city, and reduced under his dominion all the Assyrians except those who formed the kingdom of Babylon. This conquest was achieved towards the close of his reign, and he bequeathed the Median empire, at the maximum of its grandeur, to his son Astyages, in 585 B.C.²

At the demise of the Assyrians in Upper Asia lasted twenty-eight years before they were expelled by Kyaxares, in

we are left with the statement of Herodotus regarding the Median invasions which were made against the Assyrians, and the relations afterwards took place, such as the capture of Nineveh, &c., &c., in 585 B.C.

(See, in reference to the invasion of Nineveh, &c., the work given referred to by Mr. Fox Maule in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, &c., p. 171.)

That the Medes selected these as the most vulnerable points, though not the most, for Kyaxares is highly probable.

² Herodotus, l. vi. Mr. Rawlinson gives the date of the capture of Nineveh as 585 B.C. (see l. vi. p. 171), upon grounds which are not sufficient to establish the accuracy of his statement, which can be more easily, than it was before, shown to be false. The date of the capture of Nineveh is 585 B.C.

also the incursions of the Cimmerians through Asia Minor, which had begun during the reign of the Lydian king Ardys, continued through the twelve years of the reign of his son Alyattes (625—617 B.C.), and were finally terminated by Alyattes, son of the latter.¹ Notwithstanding the Cimmerians, however, Alyattes was in a condition to prosecute a war against the Greek city of Miletus, which continued during the last seven years of his reign, and which he bequeathed to his son and successor. Alyattes continued the war for five years longer. So bold was the sentiment of union among the various Greek towns on the Asiatic coast, that none of them would lend any aid to Miletus except the Clazomenae, who were under special obligations to Miletus for previous aid in a contest against Erythrae. The Milesians themselves were no match for a Lydian army in the field, though their great naval strength placed them out of all danger of a blockade; and we must presume that the erection of those towers of earth against the walls, whereby the Persian Harpagus vanquished the Ionians nine half a century afterwards, was then unknown to the Lydians. For twelve successive years the Milesian territory was annually overrun and ravaged, previous to the gathering in of the crop. The inhabitants, after having been defeated in two various battles, gave up all hope of meeting the devastation; so that the task of the invaders became easy, and the Lydian army pursued their destructive march to the sound of flutes and harps. While reaping the crops and the fruit-trees, Alyattes would not allow the farm-buildings or country-houses to be burnt, in order that the means of production might not be preserved, to be again destroyed during the following season. By such unrelenting devastation the Milesians were reduced to distress and famine, in spite of their command of the sea. The fate which afterwards overtook them during the reign of Croesus, of becoming tributary subjects to the throne of Sardis, would have begun half a century earlier, had not Alyattes contentedly committed a profanation against the golden *Aiobol*. His temple at Sardis accidentally took fire and was consumed, when his soldiers on a windy day were burning the

¹ From whom Polybius borrowed his account of the war against the Clazomenians, that Alyattes employed with them, I derived from Polybius, vii. 11. 3.

Mithrae standing over. Though no one took notice of this incident at the time, yet Alypius, on his return to Sardis, was smitten with pangs of sickness. Unable to obtain relief, he despatched envoys to seek humble advice from the god at Delphi. But the Pythian priestess refused to furnish any healing suggestions until he should have rebuilt the burnt temple of Apollo, — and Periander, at that time despot of Corinth, having learnt the tenor of this reply, transmitted precise information of it to Thersibolus despot of Mithra, with whom he was intimately allied. Presently there arrived at Mithra a herald on the part of Alypius, proposing a truce for the special purpose of enabling him to rebuild the destroyed temple — the Lydian monarch believing the Mithrae to be so poorly furnished with resources that they would gladly embrace such temporary relief. But the herald on his arrival found abundance of corn heaped up in the open, and the soldiers engaged in feasting and enjoyment; for Thersibolus had caused all the prisoners in the town, both public and private, to be brought out, in order that the herald might see the Mithrae in a condition of apparent plenty, and carry the news of it to his master. These steps succeeded. Alypius, under the persuasion that his repeated devastations inflicted upon the Mithrae made his prisoners, abandoned his hostile designs, and concluded with them a treaty of amity and alliance. It was his first proceeding to build two temples to Apollo, in place of the one which had been destroyed, and he then forthwith recovered from his protracted malady. His gratitude for the cure was testified by the transference of a large silver bowl, with an iron fastener welded together by the Chian artist Chalkas — the inventor of the art of thus joining together pieces of iron.¹

Alypius is said to have carried on other operations against some of the Ionic Greeks: he took Smyrna, but was defeated in an invasion on the territory of Klazomenae.² But on the whole his long reign of fifty-seven years was one of tranquillity to the Grecian cities on the coast, though we hear of an expedition which he undertook

Sanctions
conferred
by Alypius
—under
his name
—on Mithra
priest of
Apollo.

Long reign
——
and
expedition
of Alypius.

¹ Herodotus i. 107—108.

² Herodotus, l. ii. Polybius vii. 4. It mentions a proceeding of Alypius against the Klazomenians.

against Canda.¹ He is reported to have been during youth of extraordinary intelligence, but to have acquired afterwards a fast and unimproved character. By an Indian wife he became father of Croesus, whom even during his lifetime he appointed satrap of the town of Adramyttium and the neighbouring plain of Tlaid. But he had also other wives and other sons, and one of the latter, Adramytus, is reported as the founder of Adramyttium.² How far his dominions in the interior of Asia Minor extended, we do not know, but very probably his long and comparatively inactive reign may have favoured the accumulation of those treasures which afterwards rendered the wealth of Croesus so pre-eminant. His monument, an enormous pyramidal mound upon a stone base, erected near Sardis by the joint efforts of the whole Sardian population, was the most remarkable curiosity in Lydia during the time of Herodotus. It was inferior only to the gigantic edifices of Egypt and Babylon.³

Croesus obtained the throne, at the death of his father, by appointment from the latter. But there was a party among the Lydians who had favoured the pretensions of his brother Pantaleon. One of the richest chiefs of that party was put to death afterwards by the new king, under the cruel torture of a spiked twisting machine—his property being confiscated.⁴ The aggressive reign of Croesus, lasting fourteen years (560—546 B.C.), formed a marked contrast to the long quiescence of his father during a reign of fifty-seven years.

Protrious being easily turned for war against the Asiatic Greeks, Croesus attacked them one after the other. Unfortunately we know neither the particulars of these successive aggressions, nor the previous history of the Lydian states, so as to be able to explain how it was that the fifth of the Mermonid kings of Sardis met with such unequalled success, in an enterprise which his predecessors had attempted in vain. Miltias alone, with the aid of Cleus, had resisted Alyattes and Sadyattes for eleven years—and Croesus possessed no naval

¹ *Winkler, Herodotus*, p. 64, ed. *Small*, *Small's Fragments*, p. 64, *Orsini*.

² *Mr. Clinton states* *Allyria* to have conquered *Sardis*, and also *Allyria*, for *Allyria* of which he is not satisfied

authority (*Pauli Solms*, *de*, *art.* p. 100).

³ *Pantaleon* ap. *Herodotus*, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 1.

⁴ *Herodotus*, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 1.

⁵ *Herodotus*, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 1.

Asia, any more than his father and grandfather. But on this occasion,¹ not one of the wiser men have displayed the like individual energy. In regard to the Milesians, we may perhaps suspect that the period now under consideration was composed in that long duration of intestine conflict which Herodotus represents (though without defining exactly when) to have supplied the bones of the city for two generations, and which was at length appeased by a venerable decision of some arbitrators invited from Persia. These latter, called in by mutual consent of the exhausted antagonistic parties at Miletus, found both the city and her territory in a state of general neglect and ruin. But on surveying the lands, they discovered some which still appeared to be tilled with undiminished diligence and skill: to the proprietors of these lands they proposed the government of the town, in the belief that they would manage the public affairs with as much success as their own.² Such a state of intestine weakness would partly explain the easy subjugation of the Milesians by Croesus; while there was little in the habits of the Ionian cities to prevent the chance of united efforts against a common enemy. These cities, far from keeping up ^{what we} any effective political confederation, were in a state ^{of constant} of habitual jealousy of each other, and not infrequently ^{even among} in actual war.³ The common religious festivals—the Delian festival as well as the Pan-Ionian, and afterwards the Ephesian in place of the Delian—were to have been regularly frequented by all the cities throughout the worst of times. But these assemblies had no direct political function; nor were they permitted to control that weakness of separate city-autonomy which was paramount in the Greek mind—though their influence was extremely prodious in calling forth social sympathies. Apart from the periodical festival, meetings for special emergencies were

¹ Herodotus, i. 18. according to some editors, but this seems highly suspicious in relation to Asia.

² Aristotle related Hecataeus' story, and the various versions which the historians offered as they took place in the first six years of his reign. "The Ionian governments of extreme dissension," says well known anecdotal writer the reign of Pharyngolus. While indeed this story is suspicious, yet it may be surmised that Herodotus, speaking

of the time of the Ionian revolt (499 B.C.), and indicating that Miletus, though then peaceful, had been for two generations in an early period, seen by Herodotus translated, would hardly have meant more than "two generations" to apply to a time earlier than 511 B.C.

³ Herodotus i. 92, of the Isthmian, of p. 92. Compare E. P. Herodotus, later book the Greek Hecataeus, book vi, 100-101.

phases, as well as the numerous seeds of the Peloponnesian, exceeded anything which the Greeks had ever before known.

We learn, from the brief but valuable observations of Herodotus, to appreciate the great importance of these conquests of Greece, with reference not mainly to the Grecian states actually subjected, but also indirectly to the whole Grecian world.

"Before the reign of Croesus (observes the historian) all the Greeks were free: it was by him first that Greeks were subdued into tribute." And he treats this event as the initial phenomenon of the series, out of which grew the hostile relations between the Greeks on one side, and Asia as represented by the Persians on the other, which were apparent in the minds of himself and his contemporaries.

It was in the case of Greece that the Greeks were first called upon to deal with a tolerably large barbarous aggregate under a warlike and enterprising prince, and the result was such as to manifest the inherent weakness of their political system, from its incapacity of large combination. The separated autonomous states could only maintain their independence either through similar discipline on the part of barbarous adversaries, or by superiority, on their own side, of military organisation as well as of geographical position. The situation of Greece Proper and of the islands was favourable to the maintenance of such a system: not so the shores of Asia with a wide interior country behind. The Ionic Greeks were at this time different from what they became during the ensuing century. Little inferior in energy to Athens or to the general body of European Greeks, they could doubtless have maintained their independence, but they rarely combined. But it will be seen hereafter that the Greek colonies—planted in isolated settlements, and ill-disposed to political union, even when neighbours—all of them fell into dependence so soon as attack from the interior came to be powerfully organised; especially if that organisation was conducted by leaders partially improved through contact with the Greeks themselves. Small autonomous states maintain themselves so long as they have only enemies of the like strength to deal with: but to resist larger aggregates requires such a concurrence of favourable circumstances as can hardly remain long without interruption. And the ultimate sub-

How and
where the
Greeks
were
subdued
into
tribute
by
Croesus
of
Lydia.

jection of Antise Greece, under the kings of Macedonia, was only an exemplification on the widest scale of this same principle.

The Lydian monarchy under Croesus, the largest with which the Greeks had come into contact down to that moment, was very soon absorbed into a still larger—the Persian; of which the Ionian Greeks, after successful resistance, became the subjects. The partial sympathy and aid which they obtained from the independent or European Greeks, their western neighbours, followed by the fruitless attempt on the part of the Persian king to add these latter to his empire, gave an entirely new turn to Grecian history and proceedings. First, it necessitated a degree of united action against the Persians which was foreign to Greek political instinct; next, it opened to the boldest and most enterprising nation of the Hellenic name—the Athenians—an opportunity of placing themselves at the head of this controlling tendency; while a concurrence of circumstances, foreign and domestic, imparted to them at the same time that extraordinary and unexampled impulse, combining action with organisation, which gave such brilliancy to the period of Pericles and Thucydides. It is thus that most of the splendid phenomena of Grecian history grew, directly or indirectly, out of the reluctant dependence in which the Asiatic Greeks were held by the inland barbaric powers beginning with Croesus.

These few observations will suffice to intimate that a new phase of Grecian history is now on the point of opening. Down to the time of Croesus, almost everything which is done or suffered by the Greeks either bears only upon one or other of them separately: the history of the Greeks reproduces even the modified form of political centralisation, and there are no circumstances in existence to force it upon them. Relations of power and subjection exist between a strong and a weak state, but no tendency to mutual political co-ordination. From this time forward, we shall see partial causes at work, tending in this direction, and not without considerable influence; though always at war with the indeliberable instinct of the nation, and frequently counteracted by selfishness and misconduct on the part of the leading cities.

Action of the Lydian empire upon the Ionian Greeks, and larger scale by the Persians.

It has already been remarked that the Phœnician merchant and trading vessel figures on the Homeric poems as a well-known vessel, and that the variegated robes and golden ornaments fabricated at Sidon are prized among the valuable ornaments belonging to the chiefs.¹ We have reason to conclude generally, that in these early times, the Phœnicians traversed the *Ægean Sea* habitually, and even formed settlements for trading and sailing purposes upon some of its islands. On Thasos, especially, near the coast of Thracæ, traces of their abandoned gold-mines were visible even in the days of *Thucydides*, indicating both persevering labour and considerable length of occupation. But at the time when the historical era opens, they seem to have been in course of gradual retirement from those regions.² Their commerce had taken a different direction. Of this change we can furnish no particulars; but we may easily understand that the increase of the *Grecian* marine, both warlike and commercial, would render it inconvenient for the Phœnicians to encounter such embarrassing rivals—precisely for private war at sea! being then an habitual proceeding, especially with regard to fisheries.

The Phoenician towns occupied a narrow strip of the coast of Syria and Palestine, about 100 miles in length—never more, and

Many nations of Asia contain a great diversity from the physical type of the European to the strongly marked character of the Mongol, and that without any very decided basis or intermediation, the European features also, in the great Asiatic population of the prehistoric civilizations, being more or less accented by the traits of African descent in almost everywhere among the peoples of eastern Asia.

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1. *Staphylococcus aureus*, *Staphylococcus epidermidis*, *Staphylococcus saprophyticus*, *Staphylococcus sciuri*, *Staphylococcus carnosus*, *Staphylococcus hyacinthi*, *Staphylococcus saprophylus*, *Staphylococcus* sp.

This is indicated either in the title of the essay, through a passage in the text, or by leaving it in the margin. If it is indicated in the margin, it is indicated by one of the words given in parentheses in the list of the words. If it is indicated in the title, it is indicated by one of the words given in the list of the words. If it is indicated in the text, it is indicated by one of the words given in the list of the words.

The *Blackfly* collection seems to have stopped with flying and is now an *Arthropod* (p. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 91

[illegible]

The African diaspora in the Americas, Europe, and Oceania, as depicted through a synthesis of oral and literary sources that we have taken, who have consequently left the territory of Latin America, Africa, Asia, Europe, and Oceania, is related to the presence of the diaspora, only partially, in the Americas (Morris and Rodriguez 2006), in Asia.

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factorily the relations between a growing town and its surroundings, which Greek history mentions, is found also to prevail in Phœnicia, and will be hereafter remarked in regard to Carthage; while the same effects are also perceived, of the autonomous city policy, in keeping alive the individual energies and regulated aspirations of the inhabitants. The predominant sentiment of jealous town-isolation is forcibly illustrated by the circumstances of Tripoli, established jointly by Tyre, Sidon, and Aradon. It consisted of three distinct towns, each one farling apart from the other two, and each with its own separate walls; though probably constituting in a certain extent one political community, and serving as a place of common meeting and deliberation for the entire Phœnician area.¹ The entire promontories of Libanus and Anti-Libanus reached far out along the Phœnician coast, and those mountainous ranges, though rendering a large portion of the very confined area waste for cultivation of corn, furnished what was perhaps yet more indispensable—abundant supplies of timber for ship-building; while the entire want of all wood in Babylonia, except the date palm, restricted the Assyrians of that territory from maritime traffic on the Persian Gulf. It appears however that the mountains of Libanus also afforded shelter to tribes of predatory Arabs, who continually infested both the Phœnician territory and the rich neighbouring plain of Cole-Syria.²

The splendid temple of the great Phœnician god (Melkart), whom the Greeks called Hēraklēs,³ was situated at Tyre. The Tyrians affirmed that its establishment had been coeval with the first foundation of the city, 1200 years before the time of Herodotus. This god, the companion and protector of their colonial settlements, and the ancestor of the Phœnio-Libyan kings, is found especially at Carthage, Gadis, and Thana.⁴ Some supposed that the Phœnicians had migrated to their site on the Mediterranean coast from previous abodes near the mouth of the Euphrates,⁵ or on islands (named Tylos and Aradon) of the

¹ Herodotus, i. c. 17; Strabo, l. vii.

² Herodotus, iii. c. 16.

³ A. H. M. Smith, *Dictionary of Mythology*, the Tyrian Melkart with Hēraklēs-Kronos, Minos, and Phœnos, etc.

⁴ 171.

⁵ Herodotus, ii. c. 101; Strabo, l. vii, p. 63.

⁶ A. H. M. Smith, *Dictionary of Mythology*, Heraklēs, l. vii, p. 63; Strabo, l. vii, p. 63; Herodotus, i. c. 17.

⁷ Herodotus, i. c. 17; Strabo, l. vii, p. 63; Herodotus, i. c. 17, with Strabo's note on the former passage; Strabo, l. vii, p. 63.

grain, as well as the antiquity of Carthage, Utica, and Gades, attest the long-sighted plans of Phœnician traders, even in days anterior to the first Olympiad. We trace the wealth and industry of Tyre, and the distant navigation of her vessels through the Red Sea and along the coast of Arabia, back to the days of David and Solomon. And as neither Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, or Indians addressed themselves to a sea-faring life, so it seems that both the importation and the distribution of the products of India and Arabia into Western Asia and Europe was performed by the Idumean Arabs between Persia and the Red Sea—by the Arabs of Gerra on the Persian Gulf, joined as they were in later times by a body of Chaldeans, evincing from Babylonia—and by the more enterprising Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, in those two seas as well as in the Mediterranean.¹

The most ancient Phœnician colonies were Utica, nearly on the northernmost point of the coast of Africa and in the same gulf (now called the Gulf of Tunis) as Carthage, over against Cape Lophocœne in Italy—and Gades, or Cadix, in Tartessus, on the north-western coast of Spain. The latter town, founded perhaps near 1000 years before the Christian era,² has maintained a continuous prosperity and a name (Cadix) substantially unaltered, longer than any town in Europe. How well the site of Utica was suited to the circumstances of Phœnician colonies may be inferred from the fact that Carthage was afterwards established in the same gulf and near to the same spot, and that both the two cities reached a high pitch of prosperity. The distance of Gades from Tyre seems surprising, and if we calculate by time instead of by space, the Tyrians were separated from their Tartessian colonies by an interval greater than that which now divides an Englishman from Bombay; for the ancient navigators always counted along the land, and Eolian vessels seventy-five days³ of voyage from the

¹ See Strabo, *Geography* viii. 4. 16. *West-sides*, Book vi. *Abraham* 11. *Abraham* 11. 4. 16.

² Strabo speaks of the wealth and greatness of the Phœnicians in Africa and Spain as being the Tyrians, *Geography* 11. 4. 16. Utica is supposed to have been 100 years earlier than Carthage. *Geography* 11. 4. 16. *Geography* 11. 4. 16.

³ *Geography*, Book vi. *Abraham* 11. 4. 16. *Geography* 11. 4. 16. *Geography* 11. 4. 16.

⁴ *Geography*, Book vi. *Abraham* 11. 4. 16. *Geography* 11. 4. 16. *Geography* 11. 4. 16.

only a small part of the masses of wealth open to the Phœnicians of Gades. The Tartessus and Turis, who occupied the south-western portion of Spain between the Anas river (Guadiana) and the Mediterranean, seem to have been the most civilized and impressive section of the Iberian tribes, well-suited for commercial relations with the settlers who occupied the Isle of Leon, and who established the temple, afterwards so rich and frequented, of the Tyrian Hēraklēs. And the extreme productiveness of the northern region of Spain, in corn, fish, cattle, and wine, as well as in silver and iron, is a topic upon which we find but one language among ancient writers. The territory round Gades, Cádiz, and the other Phœnician settlements in this district, was known to the Greeks in the sixth century B.C. by the name of Tartessus, and regarded by them somewhat in the same light as Mexico and Peru appeared to the Spaniards of the sixteenth century. For three or four centuries the Phœnicians had possessed the entire monopoly of the Tartessian trade, without any rivalry on the part of the Greeks. Probably the metals there procured were in those days their most precious acquisition, and the tribes who occupied the mining regions of the interior found a new market and valuable demand, for produce then obtained with a degree of facility exaggerated into fable.¹ It was from Gades as a centre that these enterprising traders, pushing their coasting voyage yet farther, established relations with the tin-mines of Cornwall, perhaps also with amber-gatherers from the coasts of the Baltic. It requires some effort to carry back our imaginations to the time when, along all this vast length of country, from Tyre and Sidon to the coast of Cornwall, there was no merchant-ship to buy or sell goods except these Phœnicians. The robust tribes had advantage in such visitors; and we cannot doubt, that the men whose restless love of gain knew so many hazards and difficulties, must have been rewarded with profits on the largest scale of monopoly.

The Phœnician settlers on the coast of Spain became gradually more and more numerous, and appear to have been distributed, either in separate townships or intermingled with the native population, between the mouth of the Anas (Guadiana) and the

¹ About the productiveness of the Spanish mines, Polybius (xviii. 2, 3) on Sicily, II. p. 167; Aristotle, *Nich. II.* p. 124.

domant had then acquired, to a period several centuries earlier, beginning at a time when Tyre and Sidon enjoyed both undisturbed autonomy at home and the entire monopoly of Iberian commerce, without interference from the Greeks.

The earliest Grecian colony founded in Sicily was that of *Mazæ*, planted by the Chalcidians in 735 B.C.: Syracuse followed in the next year, and during the succeeding century many flourishing Greek cities took root on the island. These Greeks found the Phœnicians already in possession of many outlying islands and promontories all round the island, which served them in their trade with the Sicels and Siculi who occupied the interior. The safety and facilities of this established trade were to so great a degree broken up by the new-comers, that the Phœnicians, relinquishing their numerous petty settlements round the island, concentrated themselves in three considerable towns at the south-western angle near Lilybæum—*Motylæ*, *Solacia*, and *Panormum*—and in the island of *Malta*, where they were later widely separated from *Utica* and *Carthage*. The Tyrants of that day were harpessed by the Assyrians under *Solomon*, and the power of *Carthage* had not yet reached its height; otherwise probably this extent of the Sicilian Phœnicians before the Greeks would not have taken place without a struggle. But the early Phœnicians, superior to the Greeks in mercantile activity, and not disposed to contend, except under circumstances of very superior force, with warlike adventures bent on permanent settlement—took the prudent course of circumventing their sphere of operations. A similar change appears to have taken place in *Cyprus*, the other island in which Greeks and Phœnicians came into close contact. If we may trust the Tyrian annals collected by the historian *Menander*, *Cyprus* was subject to the Tyrians even in the time of *Solomon*.¹ We do not know the date of the establishment of *Paphos*, *Solousa*, *Kisra*, and the other Grecian cities there planted; but there can be no doubt that they were posterior to this period, and that a considerable portion of the soil and trade

Phœnicians and Greeks in Sicily at 735 B.C. — the latter probably supplant the former.

¹ *Thucyd.* vi. 2; *Herodot.* v. 22.

² See the references in *Joseph. Antiq. Jud.* viii. 2. 3. and *Joseph. c. 22*. *Antiq. Jud.* i. 16, as *Menander* is to be found in *Apul. Metast.* i. 166, in the mouth of

Strabo—

³ *Geograph. from Ptolemy's reference* *Variorum Cyprum, et veteris Antiquæ* *Antiquæ*.

difficulties hard to be encountered; but the most serious hazard of all was the direct transit across the open sea from Erythra to Libya. It was about the year 680 B.C. that the inhabitants of the island of Thira, starved out by a seven years' drought, were enjoined by the Delphic god to found a colony in Libya. Nothing short of the divine command would have induced them to stray so terrific a sentence of banishment; for not only was the region named quite unknown to them, but they could not discover, by the most careful inquiries among practised Greek navigators, a single man who had ever intentionally made the voyage to Libya.¹ One Eretria only could they find—a Libyean named Euxinos—who had been driven thither accidentally by violent gales, and he served them as guide.

At this juncture Egypt had only been recently opened to Greek commerce—Psammetichus having been the first king who partially relaxed the jealous exclusion of ships from the entrance of the Nile, enforced by all his predecessors. The incentive of so profitable a traffic emboldened some bolder traders to make the direct voyage from Erythra to the mouth of that river. It was in the prosecution of one of these voyages, and in connection with the foundation of Kyrenê (to be recounted in a future chapter), that we are made acquainted with the memorable adventure of the Phœnician merchant Kinos. While bound for Egypt, he had been driven out of his course by contrary winds and had found shelter on an uninhabited isle called Plato, off the coast of Libya—the spot where the emigrants intended for Kyrenê first established themselves, not long afterwards. From hence he again started to proceed to Egypt, but again, without success; violent and continuous east winds drove him continually to the westward, until he at length passed the Pillars of Hæcchis, and found himself, under the providential guidance of the gods,² an unexpected visitor among the Phœnicians and Libyans of Tartessus. What the cargo was which he was transporting to Egypt, we are not told. But it sold in this yet virgin market for the most exorbitant price. He and his crew (says Herodotus)³ "collected

¹ Herodot. iv. 149.

² Herodot. iv. 149. *They were not sent away.*

³ Herodot. iv. 149. *They all collected under Tartessus; the Libyans were the guides; their countrymen were*

to the extraordinary age of 180 years, at which he had reached 80. The Persians had probably never to repeat of their island: since in no very long time their town having been taken by the Persians, half their citizens became slaves, and were obliged to seek a precarious shade in Greece, in place of the advantageous settlements which old Argostolus had offered to them in Tartarus.¹

By such steps did the Greeks gradually track out the lines of Persian conquests in the Hellespontine, and some-
 thing that vast improvement in their geographical knowledge—the circumnavigation of what Herodotus and Strabo termed "our sea," as distinguished from the external Ocean.² Little practical advantage however was derived from the discovery, which was only made during the last years of Ionian independence. The Ionian cities became subjects of Persia, and Phœnix especially was stripped and half-depopulated in the struggle. Had the period of Ionian enterprise been prolonged, we should probably have heard of other Greek settlements in Iberia and Tartarus,—over and above Emporia and Rhodæ, formed by the Mamarchæ between the Pyrenees and the Euxæ,—as well as of increasing Grecian traffic with those regions. The moderation of Phœnix and the other Ionæ have saved the Phœnicæan/Tartarus from Grecian interference and competition, such as that which their fellow-countrymen in Sicily had been experiencing for a century and a half.

But though the Ephesian Artemis, the divine protectress of Phœnician navigation, was thus prevented from becoming incorporated in Tartarus, along with the Tyrian Hēraklê, an empire not the less powerful was given to the imagination of philosophers like Thales and poets like Stesichorus—whose lives cover the interval between the supernatural transport of Odysseus on the wings of the winds, and the powerering, well-planned, expedition which emanated from Phœnix. While, on the one hand, the Tyrian Hēraklê with his venerated temple at Gades furnished a new locality and details for myths respecting the Grecian Hēraklê—on the other hand, intelligent Greeks hunted for the

¹ Herodotus, l. 100.

² *Il. viii. 495.* *Perseus (Hesiod): Works and Days (Hesiod, fr. 45).*

first time that the waters surrounding their island and the Peloponnese formed part of a sea circumscribed by assignable boundaries. Continuous navigation of the Peloponnese round the coast, first of the Adriatic, next of the Gulf of Lyons to the Pillars of Hæcklin and Tartessus, first brought to light this important fact. The heroes of Achilles, Theseus, of Anaxagoras, and Kallinos, living before or contemporary with the voyage of Kallinos, had no known seafloor either north of Euxine or west of Sicily; but those of Anaximander and Hippodamus, a century afterwards, found the Bosphorus, the Pelus Mouth, the Adriatic, the Western Mediterranean, and the Libyan Syrtis, all so far surveyed as to present to the mind a definite conception, and to admit of being vividly represented by Anaximander on a map. However familiar such knowledge has now become to us, at the time now under discussion it was a prodigious advance. The Pillars of Hæcklin, especially, remained deeply fixed in the Greek mind, as a terminus of human adventure and aspiration: of the Ocean beyond, men were for the most part content to remain ignorant.

It has already been stated that the Phoenicians, as coast explorers, were even more enterprising than the Pharaohs. But their jealous commercial spirit induced them to conceal their track,—to give information ^{carefully} ^{in disguise} ^{of their} ^{by the} ^{Phoenicians} falsely respecting dangers and difficulties,—and even to drown any commercial rivals when they could do so with safety.⁸ One remarkable Phoenician achievement, however, contemporary with the period of Pharaoh exploration, must not be passed over. It was somewhere about 600 B.C. that they circumnavigated Africa; starting from the Red Sea, by direction of the Egyptian king Necho, son of Psammetichus—going round the Cape of Good Hope to Gades—and from thence returning to the Nile.

It appears that Nihil, anxious to procure a water-conveyance between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, began digging a canal from the former to the Nile, but desisted from the undertaking after having made considerable progress. In

¹ The proprietors Frobens, with partner Joseph Hess, physicians largely of the German and French schools who the old English learned, by the questions which they stated (Frobens, *Opus*, I, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918,

had the sun on their right hand (i.e. to the northward); and this phenomenon, observable according to the season even when they were within the tropics, could not fail to bring itself on their attention as constant, after they had reached the southern temperate zone. But Herodotus at once pronounced this part of the story to be incredible, and so it might appear to almost every man, Greek, Phœnician, or Egyptian, not only of the age of Hæliæ, but even of the time of Herodotus, who heard it: most none of them possessed either actual experience of the phenomena of a southern latitude, or a sufficiently correct theory of the relation between sun and earth, to understand the varying direction of the shadows; and few men would consent to set aside the received ideas with reference to the solar position, from pure confidence in the veracity of those Phœnician narrators. Now that under such circumstances the latter should invent the tale is highly improbable; and if they were not inventors, they must have experienced the phenomenon during the southern portion of their transit.

Some critics disprove this circumnavigation, from supposing that if so remarkable an achievement had really taken place once, it must have been repeated, and practical applications must have been made of it. But though such a supposition is not unreasoned, with those who recollect how great a revolution was operated when the passage was rediscovered during the fifteenth century, yet the reasoning will not be found applicable to the sixth century before the Christian era.

Pure scientific curiosity, in that age, counted for nothing. The motive of Hæliæ for deriving this enterprise was the same as that which had prompted him to dig his canal,—in order that he might procure the best communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. But, as it has been with the north-west passage in our time, so it was with the circumnavigation of Africa in his—the proof of its probability at the same time showed that it was not available for purposes of trade or communication, looking to the resources then at the command of navigators—a fact, however, which could not be known until the experiment was made. To pass from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea by

¹ *Erasmus* *Op.* vi. talks of sailing straight about the direction of the extreme southern of the tropic of Cancer (compare *Pliny*, *lib. vi. c. 20*—

see mark of the extension of geographical and astronomical observations during the four subsequent centuries that must have been discovered.

land in the interior of Asia was of great value and importance. They were the speculative merchants who directed the march of the caravans laden with Assyrian and Egyptian products across the deserts which separated them from inner Asia¹—an operation which presented hardly less difficulties, considering the Arabian depredations whom they were obliged to succumb and even to employ as carriers, than the longest coast voyage. They seem to have stood alone in antiquity in their willingness to brave, and their ability to surmount, the perils of a distant land-traffic;² and their descendants at Carthage and Uice were not less active in pushing commerce far into the interior of Africa.

Caravan-
trade by
land opened
up by the
Phœnicians.

¹ Herodotus i. 1. *Βασιλεὺς Ἰσχυρεὺς* καὶ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν.

² Herodotus ii. 104. *Ἰσχυρεὺς ἄνθρωπος* ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν.

³ Herodotus ii. 104. *Ἰσχυρεὺς ἄνθρωπος* ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν.

⁴ Herodotus ii. 104. *Ἰσχυρεὺς ἄνθρωπος* ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν.

Trade of the Phœnicians.

The luxury seems to have been the luxury of the Phœnicians. Herodotus ii. 104. *Ἰσχυρεὺς ἄνθρωπος* ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν.

were distributed over the wide territory bounded on the east by Mount Elgon and its north-westerly continuation towards Mount Ararat, by which they were separated from the Medes—and extending from thence westward and southward to the Euxine Sea, the river Halys, the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf—thus covering the whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates south of Armenia, as well as Syria and Syria-Palestina, and the territory eastward of the Halys called Cappadocia. But the Chaldean order of priests appears to have been peculiar to Babylon and other towns in its territory, especially between that city and the Persian Gulf. The real, rich, and holy temple of Babel is that city served them at once as a place of worship and an astronomical observatory. It was the paramount sanctuaries of this order which seems to have caused the Babylonians generally to be spoken of as Chaldeans—though some writers have supposed, without any good proof, a conquest of Assyrian Babylon by barbarians called Chaldeans from the mountains near the Euxine.¹

There were exaggerated statements respecting the antiquity of their astronomical observations, which cannot be traced as of definite and recorded date higher than the era of Nabonassar² (747 B.C.), as well as respecting

their astronomical observations.

1. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 2. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 3. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean.

4. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 5. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean.

6. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 7. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean.

8. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 9. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean.

10. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 11. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean.

12. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 13. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 14. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean.

15. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean. 16. *Collection of the ancient Chaldean tablets of the gods, stars, &c.* (London, 1872), *passim*; it had not occurred to the writer concerned in the present work that the name was Chaldean.

stone than of wood, so that buildings as well as walls were constructed almost entirely of brick, for which the earth was well adapted; while a flow of mineral waters, found near the town and river of Is, higher up the Euphrates, served the purpose. Such persevering and systematic labour, applied for the purpose of irrigation, attests our astonishment; yet the description of what was done for defence is still more imposing. Babylon, situated in the middle by the Euphrates, was surrounded by walls three hundred feet in height, seventy-five feet in thickness, and composing a square of which each side was one hundred and twenty miles (or nearly fifteen English miles) in length. Around the outside of the walls was a broad and deep moat from whence the material for the bulwarks composing them had been excavated; while one hundred beacon gates served for ingress and egress. Besides, there was an interior wall less thick, but still very strong; and as a still further obstruction to invasion from the south and north-east, another high and thick wall was built at some miles from the city, across the space between the Euphrates and the Tigris—called the wall of Media, seemingly a hint to the north of that point where the two rivers meet nearly approach to each other, and joining the Tigris on its west bank. Of the houses many were three or four stories high, and the broad and straight streets, unknown in a Greek town until the distribution of the *Periplus* by Hippodamus near the time of the Peloponnesian war, were well-calculated to lighten the astonishment raised by the whole spectacle in a visitor like Herodotus. The royal palace, with its memorable terraces or hanging gardens, formed the central and commanding office in one half of the city—the temple of Belus in the other half.

That celebrated temple, standing upon a basis of one square stadium, and enclosed in a precinct of two square stadia in dimensions, was composed of eight solid towers, built one above the other, and is alleged by Strabo to have been as much as a stadium or stadium high (the height is not specified by Herodotus¹).

down to fifty feet or one hundred feet (Herod. Hist. viii. 7, 41).

Respecting the numerous wells provided for which the inhabitants were made to serve (a Persian story common

about three hundred and sixty, see Herod. Hist. p. 707, Strabo, libell. viii. 7, 41).

¹ Herodot. i. 181; Strabo, vol. p. 707; Strabo, lib. x. vii. 17, 7. Strabo

city of
Babylon—
its strength
described
in the text.

Euphrates Gulf. And the industry, agricultural as well as manufacturing, of the collective population was not less persevering than productive. Their linen, cotton, and woollen fibres, and their richly ornamented carpets, were celebrated throughout all the Eastern regions. Their cotton was brought in part from islands in the Persian Gulf. The flocks of sheep tended by the Assyrian Nomads supplied them with wool finer even than that of Media or Persia. Besides the Chaldean order of priests, there seem to have been among them certain other tribes with peculiar hereditary customs. Then there were three tribes, probably near the mouth of the river, who restricted themselves to the eating of fish alone; but we have no evidence of a military caste (like that in Egypt) nor any other hereditary profession.

In order to present any conception of what Assyria was, in the early days of Assyrian History and during the two centuries preceding the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 B.C., we unfortunately have no witness earlier than Herodotus, who did not see Babylon until near a century after that event—about seventy years after its still more disastrous revolt and second subjugation by Darius. Babylonia had become one of the twenty satrapies of the Persian empire, and besides paying a larger

tribute to that of Media, than I except the larger Egypt we were paying of gold than the smaller Assyria when appearing in record. Hundreds of cities in Assyria a wonder, but few five miles in extent. Is a wonder also, granting Darius had not to conquer the land of Nineveh, the Babylonians from our hands to suggest independence to the Greeks.

In the two parts of these articles mentioned, which were, appears even more interesting than their length or breadth. Yet it is curious that on this point the two authorities, Herodotus and Strabo, both agree, with only the difference between royal cities and common cities. Herodotus says the king as yet royal cities; Strabo, at the same time, which are said to be common cities (Strabo, B. II.—at 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

believing that the most recent writers have not yet done this, I have stated by Herodotus, because they thought such a vast land's history. The difference between the royal cities and the common cities, but Herodotus on this question, before he was three years in the land of the Persians, the royal cities were more equal to the common cities. Herodotus has not intended to the difference between royal cities and common cities, and his estimate of the land is lower than that of Herodotus by 10 feet 6 inches.

In the whole, I think that, we are justified, either by Herodotus or not, in assuming that the land is not so great, as the Babylonians would be to state, in stating the difference of the land of Babylon, as given by Herodotus.

Strabo's estimate shows that a large portion of the land was not so great, as the Babylonians would be to state, in stating the difference of the land of Babylon, as given by Herodotus.

regular is data than any of the other nations, supplied, from its abundant soil, provision for the Great King and his countless host of attendants during one-third part of the year.¹ Yet it was then in a state of comparative degradation, having had its immense walls breached by Darius, and having afterwards undergone the ill-treatment of Xerxes; who, since he stripped its temples, and especially the venerated temple of Belus, of some of their richest ornaments, would probably be still more reckless in his mode of dealing with the slave soldiers.² If in spite of such afflictions, and in spite of that manifest evidence of poverty and suffering to the people which Herodotus expressly notices, it continued to be what he describes, still counted as almost the chief city of the Persian empire, both in the time of the younger Cyrus and in that of Alexander³—we may judge what it must once have been, without other foreign aid, or foreign tribute,⁴ under its Assyrian kings and Chaldean princes, during the last of the two centuries which intervened between the rise of Nabonassar and the capture of the city by Cyrus the Great. Though several of the kings, during the first of these two centuries, had contributed much to the great works of Babylon, yet it was during the second century of the two, after the capture of Nineveh by the Medes, and under Nebuchadnezzar and Sardanapallus, that the kings attained the maximum of their power and the city its greatest enlargement. It was Nebuchadnezzar who constructed the superb Terrace, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and who probably excavated the long ship canal of four old canals which joined it. That canal was perhaps formed partly from a natural western branch of the Euphrates.⁵ The

Babylonian
city, however
during the
time of the
Assyrians,
was still
more than
the chief
city in
Western
Asia.

¹ Herodot. l. 190.

² Arrian, *Exp. Al. l.* vi. 9, 10; vii. 12, 13; Diod. Siculus, *lib.* 2, 16.

³ Arrian, *Archie.* l. i. 11; Arrian, *Exp. Al. l.* vi. 10, 11, and the well-known account of the capture of the city by Alexander.

⁴ See the statement of the large number of the army of Tyngis, and the numerous establishments of Cyrus and Indian kings (Herodot. l. 190).

⁵ There is a valuable examination of the lower course of the Euphrates, with the changes which it has under-

gone, in *Notes, Travels, &c.* l. ii. *Alford* in a *Notice* l. i. text, 79, p. 45—46, and the passage from Assyria to the Indian seas.

For the distance between Tadmor or Palmyra, at the mouth of the Euphrates (which remained open) from that of the Tigris (which has been converted) the distance from the Euphrates, see *Notes* l. i. p. 40; vii. p. 100.

It is important to keep in mind the various names by which that name of the mouth of the river of the new Euphrates, passed gradually to the possession of General Chesney's an-

brother of the poet Alkman—Antimenidas, who served in the Babylonian army, and who glorified himself by his personal valor (800—600 B.C.)—would have seen it in its full glory.¹ He is the earliest Greek of whom we hear individually in connection with the Babylonians. It marks strikingly the contrast between the Persian kings and the Babylonian kings, on whose ruin they come—that while the latter incurred immense expense to facilitate the communication between Babylon and the sea, the former artificially impeded the lower course of the Tigris, in order that their residence at Susa might be out of the reach of assaults.

That which strikes us most, and which must have struck the first Grecian visitors much more, both in Assyria and Egypt, is the unbounded command of negro human strength possessed by these early kings, and the effect of mere mass and indefatigable perseverance, trained either by slavery or by whips, in the accomplishment of gigantic results.² In Assyria the results were in great part suggestions of enterprise to themselves useful to the people for irrigation and defence: religious vanity was ministered to in the like manner, as well as the personal luxury and pomp of their kings: while in Egypt the latter class predominates more over the former. We scarcely trace in either of them the higher sentiment of art, which even its first marked development to Grecian susceptibility and genius. But the human mind is in every stage of its progress, and most of all in its rude and unreflecting period, strongly impressed by visible and tangible magnitude, and awe-struck by the evidences of great power. To this feeling, for what exceeded the demands of practical convenience and security, the wonders both in Egypt

gibbon in 1766, are to be traced. This expedition gave the first complete and accurate survey of the course of the river, and led to the discovery of many military positions mentioned by Herodotus, Diodorus, and other ancient geographers and cosmographers. To the influence of these discoveries ascribed in Herodotus cosmography and historical work, it is to be added the further news, that he is always careful in pointing out where the geographical data are insufficient and the story of certainty. See Herodotus, II. ii.

Alscholung II. Alscholung I. vol. 42, p. 302.

¹ Herodotus, viii. p. 377, with the restored fragment of Alkman, which G. Müller has in ingeniously corrected (Alkman, Bonn, 1. 4, p. 377).

² Herodotus, vii. p. 148.

³ Herodotus, II. 101 stated that negroes were used in the lowest forms of Egyptian agriculture and domestic life for making bricks and carrying burdens, whereas the native negro remained in slavery.

and Assyria chiefly appealed. The execution of such colossal works demonstrates habits of regular industry, a concentrated population under one government, and, above all, an implicit submission to the rigid and precisely exact—contrasting forcibly with the small autonomous communities of Greece and Western Europe, wherein the will of the individual citizen was as much more energetic and uncontrolled. The acquisition of habits of regular industry, so foreign to the natural temper of man, was brought about in Egypt and Assyria, in China and Hindoostan, before it had acquired any footing in Europe; but it was purchased either by positive obedience to a despotic rule, or by imprisonment within the chains of a concentrated institution of caste. Even during the Hæmaric period of Greece, these countries had attained a certain civilization in some, without the acquisition of any high mental qualities or the development of any individual genius. The religious and political creation, sometimes combined and sometimes separate, determined for every man his mode of life, his mood, his duties, and his place in society, without leaving any scope for the will or reason of the agent himself. Now the Phœnicians and Carthaginians modified a degree of individual impulse and energy which goes three greatly above this type of civilization, though in their tastes, social feelings, and religion they are still Asiatic. And even the Babylonian community—though their Chaldean priests are the parallel of the Egyptian priests, with a less measure of sacerdotaly—concerns with their industrial aptitude and constancy of purpose something of that strenuous fixity of character which marks so many people of the Semitic race—Jews, Phœnicians, and Carthaginians. These Semitic people stand distinguished as well from the Egyptian life—enslaved by selfish caprice and antiquities, and by useless frivolities of ceremonial detail—as from the flexible, many-sided, and self-expressing Greek; the latter not only capable of opening both for himself and for the human race the highest walks of intellect and the full creative agency of art, but also going by far in his private sympathies and dealings than his contemporaries on the Euphrates, the Jordan, or the Nile—for we are not of course to

Collective
civilization
in Asia,
without
highly-
trained
individual
or semi-
hereditary
impulse.

enslaved
by selfish
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and
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useless
frivolities
of ceremonial
detail—as
from the
flexible,
many-sided,
and self-
expressing
Greek.

compare him with the conquerors of Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Both in Babylonia and in Egypt, the vast monuments, embankments, and canals, executed by collective industry, appeared the most remarkable to an ancient traveller by contrast with the desert regions and predatory tribes immediately surrounding them. West of the Euphrates, the sands of Arabia extended northward, with little interruption, to the latitude of the Gulf of Dams; they even covered the greater part of Mesopotamia,¹ or the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, beginning a short distance northward of the wall called the wall of Media above-mentioned, which (extending in a direction nearly southward from the Tigris to the Euphrates) had been erected to protect Babylonia against the incursions of the Media.² Eastward of the Tigris again, along the range of Mount Zagros, but at no great distance from the river, were found the Elamit, Koseri, Urit, Parastakani, &c.—tribes which (to use the expression of Herodotus)³ "as inhabiting a poor country, were under the necessity of living by the plunder of their neighbours". Such rude bands of dependents on the one side, and such wide tracts of sand on the two others, without vegetation or water, contrasted powerfully with the industry and productiveness of Babylonia. Babylon itself is to be considered not as one unbroken city, but as a city together with its surrounding district enclosed within immense walls, the height and thickness of which were in themselves a sufficient defence, so that the place was accessible only at its gates. In case of need it would serve as shelter for the persons and property of the village-inhabitants in Babylonia. We shall see hereafter how

¹ See the description of this desert in Herodotus, *Acad.* i. c. 1-5.

² This was, however, erected passed from the outside to the inside of the wall of Media: it was 140 feet high, 10 feet wide, and was reported to stand as a monument for generations, or till the year 1000, according to Herodotus, *Acad.* i. c. 170. Strabo, *Geogr.* xiv. c. 2, p. 635.

There is some controversy about the wall of Media: Mordant, *Revue* des A. et O. N. N. p. 170 and 171, says also (A. G. G. G. p. 171, note 10) appears to have constructed the

wall, but he would rather of Arabia to protect the south of the present Cyrus wall: the latter wall or Royal Canal between the Tigris and the Euphrates: see Herodotus, *Acad.* i. c. 17.

It is singular that Herodotus gives no mention of the wall of Media, though he speaks of the entirely complete city in it. The little information which can be found about it will be seen put together in c. 17, where I mention the Expedition of Cyrus.

³ Herodotus, *Acad.* p. 174.

would, under trying circumstances such a concern was, when we come to review the invasions of Asia by the Peloponnesians, and the mischief occasioned by a temporary crowd pouring in from the country, so as to overcharge the internal accommodations of Athens. Specious as Babylon was, however, it is affirmed by Berosus that Nineus or Ninerech was considerably larger.

APPENDIX.

Since the first volume of these volumes, the interesting work of Mr. Layard, "*Nimrod and the Assyrians*," together with his Illustration Drawings, "*The Monuments of Nimrod*," have been published. And through his unceasing valuable exertions in procuring all the difficult has succeeded with accuracy on the spot, the British Museum has been enriched with valuable collection of real Assyrian sculpture and other monuments. A number of similar copies of Assyrian antiquity, obtained by M. Botta and others, have also been deposited in the museum of the Louvre at Paris.

In respect to Assyrian art, in-kind to the history of art in general, a new world has thus been opened, which promises to be fruitful of instruction; especially when we consider that the ground out of which the most acquisitions have been obtained, has yet been most imperfectly examined, and may be expected to yield an ample harvest hereafter, assuming circumstances ideally favourable to investigation. The sculptures to which we are now introduced, with all their remarkable peculiarities of style and idea, most authentically date from the eighth or seventh century B.C. at the latest—and may be much earlier. The style which they display forms a parallel and subject of comparison, though in many points extremely different, to that of early Egypt—at a time when the ideal conceptions of the Greeks were, as far as we know, confined only to epic and lyric poetry.

But in respect to early Assyrian history, we have yet to find out whether much new information can be safely deduced from these interesting monuments. The cuneiform inscriptions now brought to light are indeed very numerous; and if they can be deciphered, on rational and trustworthy principles, we can hardly fail to acquire more or less of positive knowledge respecting a period now plunged in total darkness. But from the monuments of art alone, it would be unsafe to draw historical inferences. For example, when we find sculptures representing a King taking a city by assault, or receiving captive tribute from him, &c., we are not to conclude that this commemoration was real and positive conquest recently made by the Assyrians. Our know-

help of the subjects of Greek sculpture on temples is quite sufficient to make it disallow any such inference, unless there be some corroborative proof. There means must first be discovered of determining historical from mythical subjects: a distinction which I have shown, the rather because Mr. Layard shows occasional tendency to overlook it in his interesting remarks and explanations: see especially vol. ii. ch. vi. p. 408.

From the rich and abundant discoveries made at Nimrod, compared with those at Kinyras and Khorsabad, Mr. Layard is inclined to comprehend all these three within the circuit of ancient Nimrod; admitting for this at least the prodigious space alleged by Herodotus out of Elam, 480 miles or above fifty English miles. (See Kinyras and its Ruins, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 242—243.) Mr. Layard considers that the north-west portion of Nimrod exhibits monuments more ancient, and at the same time better in style and execution, than the south-west portion,—or than Kinyras and Khorsabad (vol. ii. ch. i. p. 234; ch. iii. p. 255). If this hypothesis, as to the general account by Nimrod, be correct, probably future excavations will confirm it—or, if incorrect, refute it. But I do not at all regret the supposition on the simple ground of ancient magnitudes: on the contrary, I should at once believe the statement, if it were reported by Herodotus after a visit to the spot, like the magnitude of Babylon. The testimony of Strabo is indeed very inferior in value to that of Herodotus: yet it might hardly be outweighed by the supposed improbability of so great a walled space, when we consider how little we know where to set bounds to the power of the Assyrian kings in respect to command of human labour for any purpose merely single and tame, with materials both rare and inexhaustible. Not to mention the great wall of China, we have only to look at the Pier's Wall, and other walls built by the Romans in Britain, to satisfy ourselves that a great length of fortification, under circumstances much less favourable than the position of the ancient Assyrian kings, is every conceivable in itself. Though the walls of Nimrod and Babylon were much longer than those of Paris as it now stands, yet when we compare the two not merely in size, but in respect of costliness, elaboration, and contrivance, the latter will be found to represent an infinitely greater amount of work.

Larva and Marfa, those deserted towns and walls which Xenophon saw in the retreat of the Ten Thousand (Anab. ii. 4, 6—10), coincide in point of distance and situation with Nimrod and Kinyras, according to Mr. Layard's remark. And his supposition seems not improbable, that both of them were formed by the Medes out of the ruins of the required city of Nimrod. Neither of them singly

were of all adequate to the reputation of that ancient city, or walled camp. According to the account of Herodotus, Phraortes the second Median king had attacked Nineveh, but had been himself slain in the attempt, and lost nearly all his army. It was partly to revenge this disgrace that Cyrus's son of Phraortes named Sardan (Hærod. l. 184—185); we may thus see a special reason, in addition to his own violence of temper §. 73, why he destroyed the city after having taken it (*Quæ decorare possit*, l. 178). It is easy to conceive that this vast walled space may have been broken up and converted into two Median towns, both on the Tigris. In the subsequent change from Median to Persian dominion, these towns also became depopulated, as far as the strange tales which Xenophon heard in his retreat can be trusted. The interposition of these two Median towns doubtless contributed, for the time, to put out of sight the traditions respecting the old Nine which had before stood upon their site. But such traditions never became extinct, and a new town bearing the old name of Nine must have subsequently arisen on the spot. This second Nine is recognized by Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Arrianus, not only as existing, but as preserving its uninterrupted continuity of succession from the ancient "capital Assyria".

Mr. Lapid remarks on the facility with which edifices, such as those in Assyria, built of sunburnt bricks, perish when neglected, and crumble away into nothing, leaving little or no trace.

fertilizing faster than of the Euphrates in Assyria,—partly from their more uniform occurrence both in time and quantity, partly from the rich silt which they bring down and deposit, whereas the Euphrates served only as monsoons. The presence of the Egyptians had increased, in Middle Egypt, the vast reservoir (partly, it seems, natural and pre-existing) called the Lake of Mareotis—and in the Delta, a net-work of numerous canals. Yet on the whole the hand of man had been less tested than in Babylonia; whilst the soil, usually enriched, yielded its abundant produce without either plough or spade to assist the seed cast in by the husbandman.¹ That under these circumstances a dense and regularly organized population should have been concentrated in flood plains along the valley occupied by this remarkable river is no matter of wonder. The marked peculiarities of the locality seem to have brought about such a result, in the earliest periods to which human society can be traced.

mentioned by Herodotus (II. 266) as 1000 fathoms (Cubits), 3000 cubits in area, 1000 fathoms, which is just the length, though the text of Herodotus is variously translated in the various editions of the text, and requires correction. The Herodotus text is 1000 fathoms in length, 3000 cubits, and 1000 fathoms in area. (See also the text of Herodotus in the margin of the text.)

Herodotus (II. 266) also mentions the fact, among the Assyrians, that the Assyrians had a great number of the same, and that they were the same as the Assyrians. (See also the text of Herodotus in the margin of the text.)

Herodotus was informed that the marshes in Egypt had been dug by the kings of that land, and that they were the same as the Assyrians. (See also the text of Herodotus in the margin of the text.)

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harassing particularities than for any one else. Every day in the year belonged to some particular god: the priests alone knew to which. There were different gods in every Nome, though Isis and Osiris were common to all. The priests of each god constituted a society apart, more or less important, according to the comparative celebrity of the temple. The high priests of Hephestos, whose dignity was said to have been transmitted from father to son through a series of 341 generations¹ (commemorated by the like number of colossus statues, which Herodotus himself saw), were second in importance only to the king. The property of each temple included troops of dependents and slaves, who were stamped with "holy marks,"² and who must have been numerous in order to suffice for the large buildings and their constant repairs.

Next in importance to the sacerdotal caste were the military troops—caste or order, whose native name³ indicated that they stood on the left-hand of the king, while the priests occupied the right. They were classified into Kalamais and Hermotyloi, who occupied lands in eighteen particular Nomos or provinces principally in Lower Egypt. The Kalamais had once amounted to 180,000 men, the Hermotyloi to 800,000, when at the maximum of their population; but that highest point had long been past in the time of Herodotus. To each man of this soldier-caste was assigned a portion of land equal to about 6½ English acres, free from any tax; but what measures were taken to keep the lots of land in suitable harmony with a fluctuating number of holders, we know not. The statement of Herodotus relates to a time long past and gone, and describes what was believed, by the priests with whom he talked, to have been the primitive constitution of their country anterior to the Persian conquest. The like is still more true respecting the statement

¹ Egyptian king was measured out by the priests' temples. Philarch. *De Ind.* at *Chelid.* p. 103, who seems to identify them (probably Hieronymus or Abbot) and *Agathos*. The priests represented their *Pharaohs*. The king, the Egyptian king who broke through the Egyptian empire, leaving the royal successors of whom; compare *Herod.* *ibid.* p. 103.

The Egyptian king at Herod.

and to have been kept by the like (perhaps by the priestly order, with a like name) *Pharaohs*, during the reign of *Pharaoh* *Pharaohs* in Egypt, mentioned *Herod.* *ibid.* and yet the king prior to death (*Pharaoh* *ibid.*).

² *Herod.* *ibid.* p. 103.

³ *Herod.* *ibid.* *ibid.*

⁴ *Herod.* *ibid.* *ibid.* *ibid.* *ibid.*

⁵ *Herod.* *ibid.* *ibid.*

only with the reign of Ptolemæus, from the admission of Greek settlers, then for the first time introduced in the country. Though they were half Greeks, the historian does not rate them as of inferior account, except as compared with the two ascendant castes of soldiers and priests. Moreover the creation of a new caste shows that there was no permanent or unchangeable total number.

Those whom Herodotus designates *tributaries* (*telestai*) are doubtless identical with the *artisans* (*ergastai*) specified by Diodorus—the town population generally as distinguished from that of the country. During the three large town population of Egypt. months of the year when Egypt was covered with water, festival days were numerous—the people thronging by hundreds of thousands, in vast hordes, to one or other of the many holy places, combining worship and enjoyment.¹ In Egypt weaving was a trade, whereas in Greece it was the domestic occupation of females. Herodotus treats it as one of those remnants of the order of nature which were seen only in Egypt,² that the weaver stayed at home plying her web while her wife went to market. The process of unbleaching bodies was elaborate and universal, giving employment to a large special class of men. The professions of cobblers, shoemakers, sculptors, and painters, all executed by native workmen, required a large body of trained sculptors,³ who in the mechanical branch of their business attained a high excellence. Most of the animals in Egypt were objects of religious reverence, and many of them were identified in the clearest manner with

¹ Herodotus, ii. 16, 17.

² Herodotus, ii. 16; Strabo, viii. 16, 17, where the passage cited by the historian of Egypt, Diodorus, is noteworthy as one of the earliest in history offered to represent an civilization like the Greek world of art, as having descended from the hands of some great ancestor; here Ptolemæus attributes Herodotus as the father of the notion in question. In order that the Egyptians might be rendered obedient.

³ The process of unbleaching is minutely described Herodotus, ii. 16—17; the word, which he uses for it is the same as that for drying meat and fish.—*compositum*; compare Herodotus, vii. 17.

⁴ Ptolemæus of Alexandria, history of

the Eastern seas, and exhibiting evidence in certain cases of proper use, are general descriptions of Egyptian sculpture. There are no more in their quality, which are not removed from the rock, but partly like of their other already noticed with Herodotus; or at least were they of course of the best and the best of the best, Herodotus, vii. 17.

All the people of Egypt, however, were not laborious in their industry respecting industry, particularly agriculture, were employed in the same way, which in other states was subject to a different, according to the accounts Herodotus, ii. 16; Strabo, viii. 17; Ptolemæus, ii. 17; particularly the famous statue of Artemis.

particular gods. The order of priests included a large number of hereditary feuders and tenders of these sacred animals.¹

Among the sacerdotal order were also found the computers of genealogies, the infinitely subdivided practitioners in the art of healing, &c.,² who enjoyed good reputation, and were sent for as surgeons to Cyrene and Darius. The Egyptian city-population was then exceedingly numerous, so that king Saitis, when called upon to resist an invasion without the aid of the military caste, might well be supposed to have formed an army out of "the tradesmen, the artisans, and the market people."³ And Alexander, at the commencement of the dynasty of the Ptolemies, acquired its numerous and active inhabitants at the expense of Memphis and the ancient towns of Lower Egypt.

The mechanical obedience and fixed habits of the mass of the Egyptian population (not priests or soldiers) was a point which made much impression upon Greek observers. Saitis is said to have introduced at Athens a custom prevalent in Egypt, whereby the Nomarch or chief of each Nome was required to investigate every man's means of living, and to punish with death those who did not furnish evidence of some recognized occupation.⁴ It does not seem that the institution of Censor in Egypt—through ensuring unapproachable ascendancy to the Priests and much consideration to the Soldiers—was attended with any such profound debasement to the rest as that which falls upon the lowest caste or Sudra in India. No such gulf existed between them as that between the Twice-born, and the Once-born in the religion of Brâhman. Yet those stupendous works, which form the permanent monuments of the country, remain at the same time as proofs of the oppressive despotism of the kings, and of the reckless caprice with which the lives as well as the contributions of the people were lavished. One hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians were said to have perished in

¹ Herodotus, II. 48-50; Diodorus, I. 62-66; Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, p. 166.

² Herodotus identified all the Niles named in the Ostraca near Memphis (Memphis Ostraca in Egypt, p. 36).

³ Herodotus, II. 101, 102; Strabo, I. 173. It is one of the proofs of despotism

between Egyptians and Babylonians that the latter had no census or land-tax. They brought out the will into the market-place to decide of the property and value of the property by themselves, I. 167.

⁴ Herodotus, II. 161.

⁵ Herodotus, II. 171.

joining the river—when they thus expended the physical strength and even the lives of their subjects.

Sanctity of animal life generally, veneration for particular animals in particular Nomes, and abstinence on religious grounds from certain vegetables, were among the marked features of Egyptian life, and served pre-eminently to impress upon the country that air of singularity which foreigners like Herodotus remarked in it. The two specially marked

Worship of
animals.

bulls, called Apis at Memphis and Mnevis at Heliopolis, seem to have enjoyed a sort of national worship.¹ The feline, the cat, and the dog were throughout most of the Nomes venerated during life, embalmed like men after death, and if killed, avenged by the severest punishment of the offending party; but the veneration of the crocodile was confined to the neighbourhood of Thebes and the lake of Maria. Such relics of religious sentiment, which distinguished Egypt from Phœnicia and Assyria, not less than from Greece, were explained by the native priests after their manner to Herodotus; though he declines from pious scruples to communicate what was told to him.² They seem remnants continued from a very early stage of Fetishism; and the attempts of different persons, noticed in Herodotus and Plutarch, to ascertain for their origin, partly by legends, partly by theory, will give little satisfaction to any one.³

Though Thebes first and Memphis afterwards were undoubtedly the principal cities of Egypt, yet if the dynasties of Memphis are at all trustworthy even in their general outline, the Egyptian kings were not taken uniformly at first from one or the other. Manetho enumerates in the whole twenty-six different dynasties

Egyptian
kings—
taken from
different
parts of the
country.

circumstances, but the compensation which the Nile has received.⁴ Herodotus gives the circumstances as that delta, between 400 and 450 miles.

I believe to believe that there was more of the kind of man in the Nile. Herodotus, however, through difficulties the Nile was not taken.

¹ Herodotus, ii. 16—17, 32—33; iii. 27 and 28; Strabo, i. 16—17.

² It is surprising to find Plutarch introducing into one of his tales a priestess of the Memphisian goddess associated with the worship of the god in the Memphian Nomes

(Plutarch, *Isis*, lib. 17, ed. Bœckh). Plutarch had also drawn, in one of his *Isis*, upon the worship of the god having appeared themselves as animals, with mention to the Nile and as an explanation of the construction of animals in Egypt; see Plutarch, *Isis*, lib. p. 16, ed. Bœckh; Herodotus de *Isis*, lib. p. 16, ed. Bœckh.

³ Herodotus, ii. 16. Herodotus does not find the same reference to Egyptian Nomes (Herodotus, ii. 16).

⁴ Herodotus, i. 16, 17; Plutarch, *Isis*, lib. p. 17, ed. Bœckh.

of families of kings, anterior to the conquest of the country by Kamphsis—the Persian kings between Kamphsis and Darius Hystaspes, down to the death of the latter in 485 B.C. constituting his twenty-seventh dynasty. Of these twenty-seven dynasties, beginning with the year 3300 B.C., the first two are Thinites—the third and fourth, Memphis—the fifth, from the island of Elephantine—the sixth, seventh, and eighth, again Memphis—the ninth and tenth, Hierakleopolis—the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, Thebes or Thebans—the fourteenth, Chelms—the fifteenth and sixteenth, Hyksos or Shepherd Kings—the seventeenth, Shepherd Kings, overthrown and succeeded by Dinsopolis—the eighteenth (B.C. 1685—1375), in which is included Ramses the great Egyptian conqueror, described by many authors with Sesostris, 1451 B.C.; nineteenth and twentieth, Thebes—the twenty-first, Tanis—the twenty-second, Bubastis—the twenty-third, again Tanis—the twenty-fourth, Sais—the twenty-fifth, Ethiopians, beginning with Sobekne, whom Herodotus also mentions—the twenty-sixth, Sais, including Psammetichus, Necho, Apries or Uapshis, and Amasis or Amosis.

We are by these lists that, according to the manner in which Manetho constructed the catalogue of his country, several other cities of Egypt besides Thebes and Memphis furnished kings to the whole territory. But we cannot trace any correspondence between the Names which furnished kings and those which Herodotus mentions to have been exclusively occupied by the military cast. Many of the separate Names were of considerable substantive importance, and had a marked local character each to itself, religious as well as political; though the whole of Egypt, from Elephantine to Pelusium and Eufates, is said to have always constituted one kingdom, from the earliest times which the native priests could conceive.

We are to consider this kingdom as engaged, long before the time when Greeks were admitted into it,¹ in a standing commerce with Phœnicia, Palestine, Arabia, and Assyria. Ancient Egypt, having neither vines nor olives, imported both wine and oil;² while it also

positions of Egypt with Assyria.

¹ On this subject see between Egypt, Phœnicia, and Palestine, anterior to any acquaintance with the Greeks, see

Herodotus, lib. 2, p. 1, 17.

² Herodotus shows the large probability of "wine from Egypt to the

needed especially the frankincense and aromatic products peculiar to Arabia, for its elaborate religious ceremonies. Towards the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. (a little before the time when the dynasty of the Mermesides in Lydia was commencing in the person of Gyges), we trace events tending to alter the relation which previously subsisted between these countries, by continued aggressions on the part of the Assyrian monarchs of Nineweh—Sardanapoor and Sennacherib. The former, having conquered and led into captivity the ten tribes of Israel, also attacked the Phœnicians towns on the adjoining coast: Sidon, Tyre-Tyros, and Akko yielded to him, but Tyre still resisted, and having endured for five years the hardships of a blockade with partial obstruction of its commercial operations, was enabled by means of its insular position to maintain independence. It was just at this period that the Grecian establishments in Sicily were forming, and I have already remarked that the presence of the Assyrians upon Phœnicia probably had some effect in determining that conquest of the Phœnician possessions in Sicily which really took place (B.C. 733—727). Respecting Sennacherib, we are informed by the Old Testament that he treated Judah—and by Herodotus (who calls him king of the Assyrians and Arabians) that he assailed the young king Sesoë in Egypt: in both cases his army experienced a tremendous repulse and destruction. After this the Assyrians of Nineweh, either torn by intestine dissension, or shaken by the attacks of the Medes, appear no longer active; but about the year 625 B.C., the Assyrians or Chaldeans of Babylon manifest a formidable and increasing power. It is moreover during this century that the old routine of the Egyptian kings was broken through, and a new policy displayed towards foreigners by Psammetichus—which, while it rendered Egypt more formidable to Judah and Phœnicia, opened to Grecian ships and settlers the hitherto inaccessible Nile.

Herodotus draws a marked distinction between the history of Egypt before Psammetichus and the following period. The

far, from all Greece as well as from Phœnicia, as well as the employment of the machine, vessels in which it has been brought for the transport of wheat, in the recent journey across

the Desert, &c. &c.

In later times, Alexandria was supplied with wheat directly from Egypt, and in Lydia near the mouth of the Cæcæus (Strabo, vol. p. 121).

former he gives as the narrative of the priests, without professing to guarantee it—the latter he evidently believes to be well-ascertained.¹ And we find that from Ptolemy down to Herodotus and Manetho are in tolerant harmony, whereas even for the annals comprising the last fifty years before Ptolemy, there are many and irreconcilable discrepancies between them;² but they both agree in stating that Ptolemy reigned fifty-four years.

So important an event as the first admission of the Greeks into Egypt, was made, by the instruments of Herodotus, to turn upon two prophecies. After the death of Sosis (priest of Hephæstus as well as king), who left no son, Egypt became divided among twelve kings, of whom Ptolemy was one. It was under his despotism, according to Herodotus, that the marvellous labyrinth near the Lake of Mæris was constructed. The twelve reigned and reigned for some time in perfect harmony. But a prophecy had been made known to them, that the one who should make libations in the temple of Hephæstus out of a brazen goblet would reign over all Egypt. Now it happened that one day when they all appeared armed in that temple to offer sacrifice, the high priest brought out by mistake only eleven golden goblets instead of twelve; and Ptolemy, left without a goblet, made use of his brazen helmet as a substitute. Being thus considered, through unintentionally, to have fulfilled the condition of the prophecy, by making libations in a brazen goblet, he became an object of terror to his eleven colleagues, who united to depose him of his dignity and drove him into the inaccessible marshes. In this extremity he went to seek counsel from the oracle of Isis at Buto, and received for answer an assurance that "vengeance would come to him by the hands of brazen men showing themselves from the seaward". His wish was for the moment shaken by so startling a conception as that of brazen men for his allies. But the prophetic veracity of the priest at Buto was speedily shown, when an actualised attendant

Herodotus
gives an
account of
the Ptole-
mies.

Pliny's
division of
Greece into
Egypt under
Ptolemy
also—
which
corresponds
with it.

¹ Herodot. l. ii. 127—134. See *Travels*
after—where all of frequent discrepancy
discrepancy.

² See these differences stated and
mentioned in Herodotus, Manetho and
the *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 222—223.

came to assist him in his lurking-place, that bronze man was revealing the weakness of the Delta. It was a body of Ionians and Karian soldiers, who had looted for pillage; and the messenger who came to inform Psammetichus had never before seen men in an entire suit of bronze armour. That prince, advised that these were the allies whom the Greeks had sought out for him, immediately entered into negotiation with the Ionians and Karians, enlisted them in his service, and by their aid in conjunction with his other partisans overpowered the other alien kings, thus making himself the one ruler of Egypt.¹

Such was the tale by which the original alliance of an Egyptian king with Greek mercenaries, and the first introduction of Greeks into Egypt, was accounted for and dignified. What followed is more authentic and more important. Psammetichus provided a settlement and lands for his new allies, on the Pelusian or eastern branch of the Nile, a little below Babatia. The Ionians were planted on one side of the river, the Karians on the other; and the place was made to serve as a military position, not only for the defence of the eastern border, but also for the support of the king himself against malcontents at home: it was called the *Stratopeda*, or the Camp.² He took pains moreover to facilitate the intercourse between them and the neighbouring inhabitants by sending a number of Egyptian children to be domesticated with them, in order to learn the Greek language. Hence sprang the Interpreters, who to the time of Ptolemy constituted a permanent hereditary caste or breed.

Though the chief purpose of this first foreign settlement in Egypt, between Pelusium and Babatia, was to create an independent military force, and with it a flock for the king,—yet it

¹ Herodot. II. 126—127. This narrative of Psammetichus, however, is altogether false in an historical point of view, being a mere guess at events the particulars of which he knew from the poems of Hippias. Diodorus gives an account more historically plausible, but he says that his tale had any positive authorities for him, and so it goes on repeating the fables of Greek history of the days of the Peloponnesian. Psammetichus the sixth, at the end of the twenty king, ruled

at Sais and in the neighbouring part of the Delta; he opened a trade, previously unknown in Egypt, with Greece and Phoenicia, so probable that his alien colonists became masters of his riches and combined to attack him. He raised an army of foreign mercenaries and defeated his colonists (Diodorus II. 49). Ptolemy gives a different story about Psammetichus and his foreign mercenaries (III. 1).

² Herodot. II. 126.

afforded Greeks to settle at Naukratis. Yet on comparing what the historians tell us respecting the customs, Shaddips and the brother of Sappho the poetess, it is evident that there must have been both Greek trade and Greek establishments in that town long before Amasis came to the throne. We may consider them shut both the eastern and western mouths of the Nile became open to the Greeks on the days of Psammetichus: the former as looking to the head-quarters of the mercenary Greek troops in Egyptian pay—the latter for purposes of trade.

While this event afforded to the Greeks a valuable enlargement both of their traffic and of their field of observation, it seems to have occasioned an internal revolution in Egypt.

The House of Behastis, in which the new military settlement of foreignness was planted, is numbered among those corrupted by the Egyptian military code.¹

Whether their lands were in part taken away from them we do not know; but the more introduction of such foreigners must have appeared an abomination to the strong conservative feeling of ancient Egypt. And Psammetichus treated the native soldiers in a manner which showed of how much less account Egyptian soldiers had become, since the "barbaric helots" had got footing in the land. It had hitherto been the practice to distribute such portions of the military as were on actual service, in three different posts: at Tophis near Fikoum, on the north-western frontier—at Marea on the north-western frontier, near the spot where Alexandria was afterwards built—and at Elephantine, on the southern or Ethiopian boundary. Psammetichus, having no longer occasion for their services on the eastern frontier, since the formation of the mercenary camp, concentrated them in greater number and detained them for an unusual time at the two other stations, especially at Elephantine. Here, as Herodotus tells us, they remained for three years unrelieved. Eusebius adds that Psammetichus assigned to these native troops who fought conjointly with the mercenaries, the least honourable post in the line. Discontent at length impelled them to emigrate in a body of 200,000 men into Ethiopia, leaving their wives and children behind in Egypt. No

Discontent
and emigration
of the
Egyptian
military
code.

¹ Herodot. II. 164.

just at this period, during the reign of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 625—562) that the Chaldeans or Assyrians of Babylon appear at the museum of their power and aggressive disposition: while the Assyrians of Nine or Nimrod have their substantive position through the taking of that town by Cyrus (about B.C. 550)—the greatest height which the Median power ever reached. Between the Egyptian Nile and his grandson Apria (Pharaoh Necho and Pharaoh Nephth of the Old Testament) on the one side, and the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar on the other, Judah and Phœnicia form the intermediate subject of quarrel. The political independence of the Phœnician towns is extinguished never again to be recovered. At the commencement of his reign, it appears, Necho was chiefly anxious to extend the Egyptian commerce, for which purpose he undertook two measures, both of astonishing boldness for that age—a canal between the lower part of the eastern or Persian Nile and the inner corner of the Red Sea—and the circumnavigation of Africa; his great object being to procure a water-communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. He began the canal (much about the same time as Nebuchadnezzar extended his canal from Babylon to Tadmor) with such reckless determination, that 120,000 Egyptians are said to have perished in the work. But either from such disastrous proof of the difficulty, or (as Herodotus represents) from the terrors of a menacing prophecy which reached him, he was compelled to desist. Next he accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa, already there alluded to; but in this way too he found it impracticable to procure any available communication, such as he wished.¹ It

would place the invasion of Necho in B.C. 610 or 609. Herodotus discusses at some length this discrepancy of dates, and inclines to the supposition that it represented ages or old were born in 610 B.C. and that Herodotus had assumed there were or less years before, and in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, was in fact of Necho. Certainly Nebuchadnezzar was hardly born here there being then his age began, and if he reigned 35-40 years, he must have reached an extreme old age, and may have been prematurely aided by his son. Adopting our supposition

showing that the first ten years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar may be reckoned both for him and for Nabopolassar for Necho separately only six years are to be reckoned—and that the number of years from the beginning of Necho's separate reign to this end of Egypt in 525—should place the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar in the B.C. 610 and not in 605 B.C., as the date of Herodotus would make B.C. 610—605.

Dr. CHILDS, Phil. Magaz. N. S. 42, before Herodotus.

¹ Herodot. ii. 103. Regarding the canal of Necho, see the explanation of

that expedition against the Greek colonies in Libya—Erythra and Beria—which proved his ruin. The native Libyan tribes near these cities having went to surrender themselves to him and entered his aid against the Greek soldiers, Aptilis despatched to them a large force composed of native Egyptians; who (as has been before mentioned) were stationed on the north-western frontier of Egypt, and were therefore most available for the march against Erythra. The Erythraean citizens advanced to oppose them, and a battle ensued in which the Egyptians were completely routed with severe loss. It is affirmed that they were thrown into disorder from want of practical knowledge of Greek warfare—a remarkable proof of the entire isolation of the Egyptian mercenaries (who had now been long in the service of Perambidius and his successors) from the native Egyptians.

This disastrous reverse provoked a meeting in Egypt against Aptilis, the soldiers contending that he had despatched them on the expedition with a deliberate view to their destruction, in order to secure his rule over the remaining Egyptians. The volunteers found so much sympathy among the general population, that Amasis, a native Egyptian of low birth but of considerable intelligence, whom Aptilis had sent to pacificate them, was either persuaded or constrained to become their leader, and prepared to march immediately against the king of Sais. Unbounded and reverential submission to the royal authority was a habit so deeply rooted in the Egyptian mind, that Aptilis could not believe the possibility of his success. He sent an officer of consideration named Patarbêsis to bring Amasis before him. When Patarbêsis returned, bringing back from the rebel nothing better than a contemptuous refusal to appear except at the head of an army, the exasperated king ordered his nose and ears to be cut off. This act of atrocity caused much indignation among the Egyptians toward him, that most of them deserted and joined the revolution, who thus became irresistibly formidable to points of numbers. There yet remained to Aptilis the foreign mercenaries—thirty thousand Ionians and Karians—whom he summoned from their Strategoi on the Pelusiac Nile to his residence at Sais. This done, the creation of his ancestor Perambidius and the main

influence of his family, still inspired him with such unshaken confidence, that he marched to attack the far superior numbers under Antioch at Memphis. Though his troops behaved with bravery, the disparity of numbers, combined with the stated feeling of the Egyptians, overpowered him: he was defeated and carried prisoner to Bala, where at first Antioch not only spared his life, but treated him with generosity.¹ Such however was the antipathy of the Egyptians, that they forced Antioch to surrender his prisoner into their hands, and immediately strangled him.

It is not difficult to trace in these proceedings the outbreak of a long-suppressed hatred on the part of the Egyptian soldiers towards the dynasty of Ptolemæus, to whom they owed their comparative degradation, and by whom that stream of Hellenism had been let in upon Egypt which they viewed without great regret. It might seem also that this dynasty had too little of pure Egyptianism in them to find favour with the priests. At least Herodotus does not mention any religious edifice erected either by Nektar or Ptolemæus or Apollonius, though he describes much of such work on the part of Ptolemæus—who built magnificent Temples to the temple of Neptunus at Memphis,² and a splendid new chamber or stable for the sacred bull Apis—and more still on the part of Antioch.

Nevertheless Antioch, though he had acquired the crown by this explosion of native antipathy, found the foreign elements so eminently advantageous, that he not only continued, but multiplied them. Egypt enjoyed under him a degree of power and consideration such as it neither before possessed nor afterwards retained—for his long reign of forty-four years (175—131 B.C.) closed just six months before the Parthian conquest of the country. As he was exceedingly pious-Hellenic, the Greek merchants at Naucratis—the permanent settlers as well as the occasional visitors—obtained from him valuable enlargements of their privileges. Besides granting permission to various Jewish towns to erect religious establishments for such of their citizens as visited the place, he also sanctioned the

Antioch's
generosity
Antioch's
ambition.

Herodotus
describes
the great
temple
built for the
Greek at
Naucratis.

¹ Herodot. B. 124—125; Diodor. I. 62.

² Herodot. B. 122.

This Egyptian king manifested several other evidences of his pharaoh-like despotism by donations to temples and other Chouan temples. He even married a Chouan wife from the city of Kyzikos.¹ Moreover he was in intimate alliance and relations of hospitality both with Polykrates despot of Samos and with Croesus king of Lydia.² He conquered the island of Cyprus, and rendered it tributary to the Egyptian throne. His fleet and army were maintained in good condition, and the foreign mercenaries, the great strength of the dynasty whom he had supplanted, were not only preserved, but even removed from their camp near Pelusium to the distant town Memphis, where they served as the special guards of Amasis.³ Egypt enjoyed under him a degree of power almost and prosperity at home (the river having been abundant in its overflowing), which was the more transiently remembered on account of the period of disaster and subjugation immediately following his death. And his contributions, in architecture and sculpture, to the temples of Thebes and Memphis were on a scale of nation surpassing everything before known in Lower Egypt.

Propaganda
in the
middle
of the
century.

¹ Herodotus, II. 182.

² Herodotus, I. 77; II. 100.

³ Herodotus, II. 186, 187. Herodotus II.

Herodotus, II. 186, 187. Herodotus II.

⁴ Herodotus, II. 186—187.

CHAPTER XXX.

DECLINE OF THE PHENICIANS.—GROWTH OF
CASTRON.

THE preceding sketch of that important system of foreign relations—Phœniciana, Assyriana, and Egyptiaca—who swepted the most-westerly portion of the (disappearing) inhabited world of an early Greek, brings them down, nearly to the time at which they were all absorbed into the mighty Persian empire. In tracing the series of events which intervened between 700 a.n. and 530 a.n., we observe a material increase of power both in the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and an increasing extension of Grecian maritime activity and commerce—but we at the same time notice the decline of Tyre and Sidon, both in power and traffic. The arms of Nebuchadnezzar reduced the Phœnician cities to the same state of dependence as that which the Ionian cities underwent half a century later from Croesus and Cyrus; while the ships of Miletus, Phœnix, and Samos gradually spread over all those waters of the Levant which had once been exclusively Phœnician. In the year 704 a.n., the Romans did not yet possess a single trireme;¹ down to the year 530 a.n., not a single Greek vessel had yet visited Libya. But when we reach 480 a.n., we find the Ionian ships predominant in the *Ægean*, and those of Corinth and Koskyra as busy to the west of Peloponnesus.—we see the flourishing cities of Erythra and Jaxtra already settled in Libya, and the port of Naucratis a busyemporium of Grecian commerce with Egypt. The trade by land—which is all that Egypt had enjoyed prior to Persianisation, and which was exclusively conducted by Phœniciana—is exchanged for a trade

¹ Thucyd. i. 12.

The Latin alphabet, which is nearly identical with the most ancient Doric variety of the Greek, was derived from the same source—also the Etruscan alphabet, though (if O. Müller is correct in his conjecture) only at second-hand through the intervention of the Greek.¹ If we cannot make out at what time the Phoenicians made this valuable contribution to the Greeks, much less can we determine when or how they acquired it themselves—whether it be of Semitic invention, or derived from improvement upon the phonetic hieroglyphics of the Egyptians.²

Besides the letters of the Alphabet, the scale of weight and that of coined money passed from Phœnicia and Assyria into Greece. It has been shown by Bœsch in his "Metrolöge" that the *Alphamean scale*³—with its divisions, talent, mina, and obolus—is identical with the Babylonian and Phœnician; and that the word *Mina*, which forms the central point of the scale, is of Chaldean origin. On this I have already touched in a former chapter, while relating the history of Phœnia of Argos, by whom wine is called the *Alphamean scale* was first promulgated.

In tracing therefore the effect upon the Greek mind, of early intercourse with the various Asiatic nations, we find that as the Greeks made up their mental scale (so important an element of their early mental culture) in part by borrowing from Lydians and Phrygians—as also their monetary and statistical system, their alphabetical writing, and their doledodial division of the day measured by the gnomon and the shadow, were all derived from Assyrians and Phœnicians. The early industry and commerce of these countries were thus in many ways available to Grecian advance, and would probably

Greek alphabet, and the numerous statements of the transmitted as to what letters were original, and what were subsequently added.

See also in Dr. Müller (vol. I. p. 15, and in the first volume), pointed to that thought process of primitive comparison of the Greek, Latin, and Phœnician alphabets.

The Greek nations, so slight in number, were generally in all branches of regarding the origin of letters to which letters or gods, such as Phœnia, Phœnician, Etruscan, Assyrian, Lydian, etc., were to the Phœnicians. The oldest traces of the Greek alphabet are found in the Phœnician, which, according to Bœsch, is the oldest.

See, e. g., the Phœnician alphabet in Phœnician.

See Phœnia and Etruscan alphabet of writing among the Greeks in the first volume of the Phœnician alphabet, in which I have also pointed to the Phœnician.

See O. Müller, *Die Griechische* (p. 15), where there is much information on the Phœnician alphabet.

The Phœnician is called and discussed by Joseph Bœsch, *Die Griechische* (p. 15), in the Phœnician alphabet, which, according to Bœsch, is the oldest.

See Bœsch, *Die Griechische* (p. 15), where the preceding traces of this history.

have become more so if the great and rapid rise of the more barbarous Persians had not reduced them all to servitude. The Phœnicians, though unskilled rivals, were at the same time examples and stimulants to Greek maritime aspiration; and the Phœnician worship of that goddess whom the Greeks knew under the name of Aphrodite, became communicated to the latter in Cyprus, in Kythira, in Sicily—perhaps also in Carthage.

The sixth century B.C., though a period of decline for Tyre and Sidon, was a period of growth for their African colony

Carthage.

Carthage, which appears during this century in considerable traffic with the Tyrrhenian towns on the southern coast of Italy, and as throwing out the Phœnician settlers from Agha in Corsica. The wars of the Carthaginians with the Grecian colonies in Sicily, so far as they are known to us, commence shortly after 500 B.C., and continue at intervals, with fluctuating success, for two centuries and a half.

The foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians is placed at different dates, the latest of which however is 810 B.C.: other authorities place it in 878 B.C., and we have no means of deciding ^{between them}. I have already remarked that it is by Carthage we trace the oldest of the Tyrian colonies. But though Utica and Gades were more ancient than Carthage,¹ the latter so greatly outstripped them in wealth and power, as to acquire a sort of federal pre-eminence over all the Phœnician colonies on the coast of Africa. In these later times, when the dominion of ^{Carthage} Carthage had reached its maximum, it controlled the towns of Utica, Hippo, Adramuthum, and Lepcis—all original Phœnician foundations, and enjoying probably, even as

¹ Utica is said to have been founded 600 years earlier than Carthage; the author, who states this, pretending to draw his information from Phœnician sources. (L'Asie, l'Afrique, l'Europe, t. 182.) Voltaire (Œuvres complètes) thinks to be older than Tyre, and places the foundation of Carthage B.C. 810 (t. 1, p. 11). He seems to have in the main, the same authority as the compiler of the *Asiatick Researches* above cited. Other authorities place the foundation of Carthage at 700 B.C. (L'Asie, l'Afrique, l'Europe, t. 182, p. 182). Apollon places the date of the foundation at 810 years before the Trojan war (t. 1, p. 182).

Plinius, a. 10, Phœnicie, an inventory made before the same great Carthage. Plinius, op. cit. Carthage: Utica, an thirty-eight years earlier than the B.C. of Cleopatra (L'Asie, l'Afrique, l'Europe, t. 182, p. 182). Apollon, a. 10, p. 182.

The chronology which Josephus gives from Alexander's work, is various (from Tyrrhenian sources, placed at the foundation of Carthage) 20 years after the building of the temple of Jerusalem (Antiq. Jud. lib. 1, c. 10, p. 182). Apollon adds that Carthage was founded in the first year of Cleopatra I (a. 1, t. 1, p. 182).

dependents of Carthage, a certain qualified autonomy—besides a great number of smaller towns planted by themselves, and inhabited by a mixed population called *Laby-Phoenicians*. Three hundred such towns—a dependent territory covering half the space between the Lesser and the Greater Syria, and in many parts remarkably fertile—a city and its contents 700,000 inhabitants, active, wealthy, and exceedingly homogeneous—and foreign dependencies in Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, and Spain,—all this aggregate of power, wealth and political management, was sufficient to render the control of Carthage even with Rome for some time doubtful.

But by what steps the Carthaginians raised themselves to such a pitch of greatness we have no information. We are even left to guess how much of it had already been acquired at the sixth century B.C. As in the case of so many other cities, we have a foundation legend denoting the moment of birth, and then nothing farther. The Tyrian princess Dido or Elissa, daughter of Eileas, sister of Pygmalion king of Tyre, and wife of the wealthy Sidonian priest of Hiram in that city—in

B.C. said to have been left a widow in consequence of the murder of Sidonius by Pygmalion, who seized the treasures belonging to his victim. Her Dido found means to disappoint him of his booty, possessed herself of the gold which had tempted Pygmalion, and secretly emigrated, carrying with her the sacred images of Hiram. A considerable body of Tyrians followed her. She arrived at Carthage on a small hilly peninsula joined by a narrow tongue of land to the continent, purchasing from the natives as much land as would be surrounded by an ox's hide, which she caused to be cut into the thinnest strip, and thus made it sufficient for the site of her first abode, *Byssa*, which afterwards grew up into the great city of Carthage. As soon as her new settlement had acquired footing, she was solicited to marriage by several princes of the native tribes, especially by the Chetuban Jactus, who threatened war if he were refused. Thus pressed by the clamours of her own people, who desired to come into alliance with the natives, yet irreversibly determined to maintain exclusive fidelity to her first husband, she escaped the conflict by putting an end to her life. She pretended to asphyxiate in the preparation of a second marriage, requiring only daily sufficient

to offer an expiatory sacrifice to the manes of Sabinus. A vast funeral pile was erected, and many victims were upon it, by the midst of which Dido passed her own bosom with a sword and perished in the flames. Such is the legend to which Virgil has given a new colour by interweaving the adventures of Aeneas, and that connecting the foundation legends of Carthage and Rome, careless of his deviation from the received mythical chronology. Dido was worshipped as a goddess at Carthage until the destruction of the city;¹ and it has been imagined with some probability that she is identical with Astarte, the divine patroness under whose auspices the colony was originally established, as Gades and Tarent were founded under those of Hecate — the tale of the funeral pile and self-burning appearing in the religious ceremonies of other Cilician and Syrian towns.² Foundation religion and worship was diffused along with the Punic colonies throughout the larger portion of the Mediterranean.

The Phoenicians of Tyre, who undert their adventurous voyages westward established the colony of Marseilles (as early as 600 B.C.), were only enabled to accomplish this by a naval victory over the Carthaginians—the earliest example of Greek and Carthaginian collision which has been preserved to us. The Carthaginians were jealous of commercial rivalry, and their traffic with the Tarente and Luciae in Italy, as well as their lucrative mine-working in Spain, dates from a period when Greek commerce in those regions was hardly known. In Greek authors the denomination Phoenicians is often used to designate the Carthaginians as well as the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, so that we cannot always decide which of the two is meant. But it is remarkable that the earliest establishment of Galla, and the numerous settlements planted for commercial purposes along the western coast of Africa and with

[illegible]

shores (De Melo, 1988). The study of Melo was confined to the areas of the Amazon and Chapadãozinho. In 1988, in Manaus and Marabá, the second is necessary to know anatomy, the first series presents specimens in the form of a slide. (Melo, 1988, p. 18-19).

out the Strait of Gibraltar, are expressly ascribed to the Tyrians.¹ Many of the other Phœnician establishments on the western coast of Spain seem to have owed their origin to Carthage rather than to Tyre. But the relations between the two, so far as we know them, were constantly variable, and Carthage even at the period of her highest glory was Thetis with a tribute of religious recognition to the Tyrian Minerva: the visit of these navies culminated with the siege of the town by Alexander the Great. On that critical occasion, the wives and children of the Tyrians were sent to find shelter at Carthage. Two centuries before, when the Persian empire was in its age of growth and expansion, the Tyrians had refused to aid Xerxes with their fleet in the plans for conquering Carthage, and thus probably preserved their colony from subjugation.²

¹ Herodotus, viii. p. 125.

² Herodotus, vi. 19.

CHAPTER XXII.

VENETIAN COLONIES OF GREECE—IN SPIRUS, ITALY,
SICILY, AND GAUL.

THE stream of Grecian colonisation to the westward, as far as we can be said to know it authentically, with names and dates, begins from the 11th Olympiad. But it is reasonable to believe that there were other attempts earlier than this, though we must content ourselves with recognising them as generally probable. There were doubtless detached bands of volunteer soldiers or marauders who, finding themselves in some situation favourable to commerce or piracy, either became mingled with the native tribes, or grew up by successive reinforcements into an acknowledged town. Not being able to boast of any descent from the Frynians of a known Grecian city, these adventurers were often disposed to fasten upon the inextinguishable legend of the Trojan war, and ascribe their origin to one of the victorious heroes in the host of Agamemnon, since distinguished for their valour and for their ubiquitous dispersion after the siege. Of such alleged settlements by fugitive Grecian or Trojan heroes, there were a great number, on various points throughout the shores of the Mediterranean; and the same honorable origin was claimed even by many non-Hellenic towns.

Early
venetian-
colonised
settlements
from
Greece.

In the eighth century B.C., when this westerly stream of Grecian colonisation begins to assume an authentic shape (7th B.C.), the population of Sicily (as far as our scanty information permits us to determine it) consisted of two races completely distinct from each other—Etrusci and Sicans—besides the Elymi (a mixed race apparently distinct from both, occupying

Early
Venetian
colonies
of Sicily—
Etrusci—
Sicans—
Elymi—
Punicians.

flows into Sicily in consequence of Greek invasions. The element of affinity existing between Latins, Campanians, and Sicilians—to a certain degree also between all of them together and the Greeks, but not extending to the Egyptians or Carians, or to the Assyrians—may be called Pelagic for want of a better name. But by whatever name it be called, the recognition of its existence connects and explains many isolated circumstances in the early history of Rome as well as in that of the Italian and Southern Greeks.

The earliest Greek colony in Italy or Sicily, of which we know the precise date, is placed about 735 b.c., eighteen years subsequent to the Trojan war of Troy; as that the Greeks, trading to subject and colonize the Sicilian population in the southern region, began their operations nearly at the same time as those which tended gradually to smelt and aggrandise the modified variety of it which existed in Latium. At that time, according to the information given to Thucydides, the Sicels had been established for three centuries in Sicily. Herodotus and Philistus—who both recognized a similar migration into that island out of Italy, though they give different names both to the emigrants and to those who expelled them—assign to the migration a date three generations before the Trojan war.¹ Earlier than 535 a.c., however, though we do not know the precise era of its commencement, there existed one solitary Greek establishment in the Tyrrhæan Sea—the Campanian *Chora* near Cape Misenum; which the more common opinion of chronologists supposed to have been founded in 535 a.c., and which has even been carried back by some authors to 1125 a.c.² Without reposeing any faith in this early chronology, we may at least feel certain that it is the most ancient Greek establishment in any part of Italy, and that a consider-

Greek
establishment
in Italy
about 735
b.c.
about 18
years after
the Trojan
war.

Chora in
Campania
about
535
a.c.

¹ Thucyd. ii. 2; Philistus, Frag. 2, ed. Boeckh.

² Herod. v. p. 163; Valerius Maxim. i. 8; Strabo, p. 121. M. Savio Boeckh, regarding a different interpretation of the date of the Trojan war, places the date of Chora still farther back: in 1125 a.c. (see also the *Campanian Chora*, book vi. c. 14) p. 169.

The mention of Chora extended to a period preceding the Olympic settlements. See the stories of Arctonoe and Erechtheus, Apollon. Fragment, Leake, p. 204, ed. Boeckh; also various ed. Thucyd. about vi. 11. The Sicilian Thracians, or primitive Greek settlers in Sicily, were supposed to have been first driven westward to Chora (Strabo, v. 14).

able than elapsed before any other Greek colonies were bold enough to cut themselves off from the Hellenic world by occupying seats on the other side of the Strait of Messina,¹ with all the hazards of Tyrrhenian piracy as well as of Sicily and Charybdis. The Campanian Oenon (known almost entirely by this its Latin designation) received its name and a portion of its inhabitants from the Sicilian Kynal in Asia Minor. A joint band of settlers, partly from this latter town, partly from Chalkis in Euboea—the former under the Erymanthos Hyppoklis, the latter under the Chalkidian Megasthenes—having numbered to form the new town, it was settled by agreement that Kynal should bestow the name, and that Chalkis should enjoy the title and honours of the mother-city.²

Cuma, situated on the neck of the peninsula, which terminates in Cape Misenum, occupied a lofty and rocky hill overlooking the sea,³ and difficult of access on the land side. The unexampled fertility of the Phlegrean plains in the immediate vicinity of the city, the copious supply of fish in the Lucrine lake,⁴ and the gold mines in the neighbouring island of Pithecusæ—both subulated and enriched the colonists. Being joined by fresh settlers from Chalkis, from Eretria, and even from Samos, they became numerous enough to form distinct towns at Pithecusæ and Neapolis, thus spreading over a large portion of the Bay of Naples. In the hollow rock under the very walls of the town was situated the cavern of the prophetic Sibyl—a parallel and reproduction of the Cergithian Sybil near Kynal in Sicily. In the immediate neighbourhood, too, stood the wild woods and dark lake of Avernus, consecrated to the subterranean gods and offering an establishment of priests, with ceremonies evoking the dead for purposes of prophecy or for solving doubts and mysteries. It was here that Grecian imagination touched the Cimmerians and the fields of Odysseus; and the Cumæans derived gains from the numerous visitors to this holy spot,⁵ perhaps hardly less than those

¹ Ephorus, Frag. II. ed. Didot.

² Strabo, v. p. 161; Valerius Flaccus.

³ Id.

⁴ See the site of Cumæ as described

by Agathangellus according to the shape

of the place by Strabo, III. 480 A.D.

Strabo, I. p. 10; Agathangellus, v. p. 10.

⁵ Strabo, IV. 11, p. 12; Pausan. II. 11.

Strabo, II. 11, p. 12; Livy, viii. 22. "In
Siciliæ nova Campaniæ colonia Pithecusa
nomine ablatum (unde Strabo) Agathangellus
et Lucanum qui sunt incolæ phlegæ
ceteris vestigiis vestigia præcedunt."
Agathangellus, viii. 10, 11.

⁴ Strabo, v. p. 161. See especially
p. 10 in Agathangellus and Lucanum, viii.

from the interior, Tarsum reinforced by Unshin and Buzian allies; which Demogilus refers to the 64th Olympiad (534-530 B.C.), though upon what chronological authority we do not know, and though the same time is marked by Kuenlin as the date of the foundation of Eubœarchia from Canaan. The invaders, in spite of great disparity of number, were bravely repelled by the Canaanite, chiefly through the heroic example of the citizens then best known and distinguished—Aristodimus Mahdon. The government of the city was oligarchical, and the oligarchy from that day became jealous of Aristodimus; who, on his part, acquired extraordinary popularity and influence among the people. Twenty years afterwards, the Latin city of Aricia, an ancient ally of Canaan, being attacked by a Tarsum host, entered

Revelation
elaboration
of a Latin
story.

warfare from the Canaanite. The oligarchy of the latter thought this a good opportunity to rid themselves of Aristodimus, whom they dispatched by sea to Aricia, with rotten vessels and an inefficient body of troops. But their stratagem failed and proved their ruin: for the skill and intrepidity of Aristodimus sufficed for the rescue of Aricia. He brought back his troops victorious and devoted to himself personally. He then, partly by force, partly by stratagem, subverted the oligarchy, put to death the principal rulers, and constituted himself despot. By a jealous energy, by denouncing the people, and by a body of mercenaries, he maintained himself in this authority for twenty years, ruining his career of lust and iniquity until old age. At length a conspiracy of the oppressed population proved successful against him; he was slain with all his family, and many of his chief partisans, and the former government was restored.²

The despotism of Aristodimus falls during the exile of the expelled Tarsum³ (to whom he gave shelter) from Rome, and during the government of Galla at Syracuse. Such a cautious period of dissension and internal war was one of the great causes of the decline of Canaan. Nearly at the same time, the Tarsum power, both by land and sea, appears at its maximum; while the Tarsum establishment at Capua also begins, if we adopt the

² The history of Aristodimus Mahdon of Eubœarchia (C.R. 1-10).
See also the story of the Tarsum of Demogilus.

³ Livy, 2. 21.

ness of the Jews, as given by Cato.¹ There was thus created at the expense of Cambré a powerful city, which was still further aggrandised afterwards when, conquered and occupied by the Samnites; whose invading tribes, under their own name or that of Lucanians, extended themselves during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. even to the shores of the Gulf of Tarentum.² Cambré was also exposed to formidable dangers from the sea-side: a fleet either of Tanians alone, or of Tanians and Carthaginians united, assailed it in 434 B.C., when it was only rescued by the active interposition of Elyce despot of Syracusa; by whose naval force the invaders were repelled with slaughter.³ These incidents go partly to indicate, partly to explain, the decline of the most ancient Hellenic settlement in Italy—a decline from which it never recovered.

After briefly sketching the history of Cambré, we pass naturally to that series of powerful colonies which were established in Sicily and Italy beginning with 736 B.C.—enterprises in which Chalcis, Corintha, Megara, Sparta, the Achæans in Peloponnesus and the Lokians out of Peloponnesus, were all concerned. Chalcis, the metropolis of Cambré, became also the metropolis of Rhegium, the most ancient Grecian colony in Sicily, on the eastern coast of the island, between the Strait of Messina and Mount Stina.

The great number of Grecian settlements, from different adjoining towns, which appear to have taken effect within a few years upon the eastern coast of Italy and Sicily—from the Iapygian Cape to Cape Pachynus—leads us to suppose that the extraordinary capacities of the country for receiving new settlers had become known only suddenly. The colonies follow so close upon each other, that the example of the first cannot have been the single determining motive to those which followed. I shall have occasion to point out, even a century later (on the occasion of the settlement of Erythræ), the narrow range of Grecian navigation; so that the previous supposed ignorance would not be at all incredible, were it not for the fact of the

Special and
particular
attention
of the
colonies in
Italy and
Sicily,
beginning
with
736 B.C.

¹ *Polyb. Hist. l. i.*
² *Strabo. Hist. v. p. 122; vi. p. 124.*
³ *Strabo. Hist. vi. p. 124.*

Strabo. Hist. l. i.
⁴ *Strabo. Hist. vi. p. 124.*

pre-existing colony of Cean. According to the practice universal with Greek ships—which rarely permitted themselves to lose sight of the coast except in cases of absolute necessity—every man who navigated from Greece to Italy or Sicily first coasted along the shores of Abdera and Epirus until he reached the latitude of Koskyra; he then struck across first to that island, next to the Iapygian promontory, from whence he proceeded along the eastern coast of Italy (the Golph of Thurium and Squillac) to the southern promontory of Calabria and the Sicilian Strait; he would then sail, still eastward, either to Syracuse or to Cean, according to his destination. Be different are mental habits now, that this first requires special notice. We must recollect, moreover, that in 736 a.c., there were yet no Greek settlements either in Epirus or in Koskyra; outside of the Gulf of Corinth, the world was non-Hellenic, with the single exception of the remote Cean. A few years little before the last-mentioned period, Theoklis (an Athenian or a Chalkidian—probably the latter), being sent by storms to the coast of Sicily, became acquainted with the tempting character of the soil, as well as with the dispersed and half-organized condition of the petty Sicel communities who occupied it.¹ The oligarchy of Chalkis, acting upon the information which he brought back, sent out under his guidance settlers,² Chalkidian and Hælian, who founded the Sicilian Naxos. Theoklis and his companions on landing first occupied the entrance of Thuria, immediately overhauling the sea (whereon was established four centuries afterwards the town of Thurium), after Naxos had been destroyed by the Syracuse despot Dionysius; for they had to make good their position against the Sikels, who were in occupation of the neighbourhood, and whom it was requisite either to dispossess or to subjugate. After they had acquired secure possession of the territory, the site of the city was transferred to a convenient spot adjoining; but the hill first occupied remained

¹ Thucyd. vi. 2; Strabo, vi. p. 497.

² The settlement of Sicilian colonies may be admitted, as well upon the probabilities arising from the facts, as from the statement of Strabo, *op.*

Stephan. Byz. s. Sicilis.

Syracusa was captured both by the Chalkians and the Megasthenes tyrants, which Thucydides presents as certain (Syracus. *op.* Strabo, vi. p. 497).

ever memorable, both to Greeks and to Sikels. On it was erected the altar of Apollo Arethepolis, the divine prince who (through his oracle at Delphi) had sanctioned and determined Hellenic colonization in the island. The altar remained permanently as a sanctuary, common to all the Sicilian Greeks, where the Triads or sacred surveys from their various cities, when they visited the Olympia and other festivals of Greece, were always in the habit of offering sacrifices immediately before their departure. To the independent Sikels who maintained their autonomy, on the other hand, the hill was an object of lasting but silent recollection, as the spot in which Grecian conquest and intrusion had first begun; so that at the distance of three centuries and a half from the event, we find them still animated by this sentiment in obstructing the foundation of Tyrrhenianism.¹

At the time when Thucydides landed, the Sikels were in possession of the larger half of the island, lying chiefly to the east of the Hermaean mountains²—a continuous ridge ^{now} stretching from north-west to north-east, distinct ^{from that chain of detached mountains, much higher, called the Selinuntian, which ran nearly parallel with the northern shore.} West of the Hermaean hills were situated the Sikels; and west of these latter, Eryx and Egesta, the possessions of the Elymi: along the western portion of the northern coast, also, were placed Motya, Solous, and Panormus (now Palermo), the Phœnician or Carthaginian outposts. The formation (or at least the extension) of these three last-mentioned ports, however, was a consequence of the multiplied Greek colonies; for the Phœnicians down to this time had not founded any territorial or permanent establishments, but had contented themselves with occupying in a temporary way various capes or advantageous sites, for the purpose of trade with the interior. The arrival of formidable Greek nations, maritime like themselves, induced them to abandon these outlying stations, and to concentrate their strength in the three considerable towns above-

¹ Thucyd. vi. 2; Diodor. xiv. 86—

² A Mountain placed the boundary of which had Sicily at three divisions: the Sikels, the Elymi and the Greeks.

Thucyd. vi. 2, p. 221 places it at the Greek Colon, which were to the westward of the mountains of the Sikels: compare Diodor. ix. 32—33.

named, all near to that corner of the island which approached most closely to Carthage. The east side of Sicily, and most part of the south, were left open to the Greeks, with no other opposition than that of the indigenous Sicels and Etruscans, who were gradually expelled from all contact with the sea-shore, except on part of the north side of the island—and who were indeed so unopposed at sea, as well as destitute of shipping, that in the tale of their old migration out of Italy into Sicily, the Sicels were affirmed to have crossed the narrow strait upon rafts at a moment of favourable wind.¹

In the very next year² to the foundation of Syracuse, Corinth as we began her part in the colonization of the island. A Foundation body of settlers, under the eldest Archias, landed at Syracuse in the island Ortygia, farther southward on the eastern coast, expelled the Sicel occupants, and laid the first stone of the mighty Syracuse. Ortygia, two English miles in circumference, was separated from the main island only by a narrow channel, which was bridged over when the city was occupied and enlarged by Gela in the 73rd Olympiad, if not earlier. It formed only a small part, though the most secure and best-fortified part, of the vast space which the city afterwards occupied. But it sufficed alone for the inhabitants during a considerable time, and the present city in its modern decline has again retreated to the same modest limits. Moreover Ortygia offered another advantage of not less value. It lay across the entrance of a spacious harbour, approached by a narrow mouth, and its bastions of Archias were memorable in antiquity both for abundance and goodness of water. We should have been glad to learn something respecting the numbers, character, position, variety, &c., of these primitive emigrants, the founders of a city afterwards comprising a vast walled district, which Strabo reckons at 180 stadia, but which the modern observations of Colonel Leake announce as fourteen English miles,³ or about 128 stadia. We are told only that many of them came from the Corinthian villages of Tanais, and that one of them sold to a

¹ Herod. vi. 2.

Ant. 176, and the same work vol. II, Appendix B. p. 102.

² Mr. Bryant Clotius observes the
age of Syracuse, Field Institute, ed.

From Colonel Leake, notes on the
Topography of Syracuse, p. 45.

at a little distance to the northward of Orygia or Syrakon, and shortly afterwards died. His followers made an alliance with Hyllôn, king of a neighbouring tribe of Sikels, who invited them to settle in his territory. They accepted the proposition, colonised *Thapsos*, and founded, in conjunction with Hyllôn, the city called the *Hyllônian Megara*, between *Leontini* and *Syracuse*. This incident is the more worthy of notice, because it is one of the instances which we find of a Greek colony beginning by amicable fusion with the pre-existing residents: *Thapsos* seems to recognise the prince Hyllôn as betraying his people against their wishes to the Greeks.¹

It was thus that, during the space of two years, several distinct bodies of Greek emigrants had successively succeeded each other in Sicily. For the next forty years, we do not hear of any fresh arrivals, which is the more easy to understand as there were during that interval several considerable foundations on the coast of Italy, which probably took off the disposable Greek settlers.

At length, forty-five years after the foundation of *Ora*,

Syracuse, a fresh body of settlers arrived; partly from *Rhodes* under *Antiphon*, partly from *Kos* under *Korax*. They founded the city of *Gela*, on the south-western front of the island, between *Cape Pachynus* and *Lilybaeum* (p. 200)—still on the territory of the Sikels, though extending ultimately to a portion of that of the *Sikans*.² The name of the city was given from that of the neighbouring river *Gela*.

One other fresh migration from Greece to Sicily remains to be mentioned, though we cannot assign the exact date of it. The name of *Kerkira* (now *Corfu*), on the strait between

Sardinia Italy and Sicily, was at first occupied by certain
Phoenicians privateers or pirates from *Greece*—the situation being
Chalkidic eminently convenient for their operations. But the success of the other *Chalkidic* settlements imparted to this mass of pirates a more enlarged and honourable character. A body of new settlers joined them from *Chalkis* and other towns of *Eubœa*, the land was regularly divided, and two joint ships were provided to qualify the town as a member of the Hellenic communion—

¹ *Thucyd.* vi. 2. "Hyllôn and his followers the people on *Thapsos* gave."

² *Thucyd.* vi. 2; *Strabo*, *Geograph. Furiæ*, iii. 2, 3; *Strabo*, xii. p. 12; *Plutarch*, viii. 2, 3.

Parade from Chalkis, and Krastomada from Cora. The name *Enidai* had been given by the primitive Sicel occupants of the place, meaning in their language a noble; but it was afterwards changed to *Mandai* by Anaxila despot of Rhegium, who, when he conquered the town, introduced new inhabitants in a manner hereafter to be noticed.¹

Besides these migrations direct from Greece, the Italian colonies in Sicily became themselves the founders of sub-colonies. Thus the Syracusans, seventy years ^{after} after their own settlement (i.e. 688), founded Akra—Kammar, twenty years afterwards (i.e. 644), and Kasarion forty-five years after Kammar (i.e. 609): Deskia and Mouchlia were the chiefs of the latter, which became in process of time an independent and considerable town, while Akra and Kammar seem to have remained subject to Syracuse. Kasarion was on the south-western side of the island, forming the boundary of the Syracusan territory towards Gela. Kallipolis was established from Naxos, and Entona (a town so called) from Leontini.²

Hitherto the Greeks had colonised altogether on the territory of the Sikels. But the three towns which remain to be mentioned were all founded in that of the Sikanes—Agrigentum or Akragas—Selinus—and Himera. These, as The two former were both on the south-western coast—Agrigentum bordering upon Gela on the one side and upon Selinus on the other. Himera was situated on the westerly portion of the northern coast—the single Italian establishment, in the time of Thucydides, which that long line of coast presented. The inhabitants of the Hyblæan Megara were founders of Selinus, about 600 B.C., a century after their own establishment. The whole Pandion, according to the usual Italian practice, was invited from their metropolis Megara in Greece Proper, but we are not told how many Greek settlers came with him: the language of Thucydides leads us to suppose that the new town was peopled chiefly from the Hyblæan Megareans themselves. The town of

¹ Thucyd. vi. 4.

² Strabo, vi. p. 21.

³ Stephanus Byz. *Syracusæ*, §. 4. and *Aggræ*, *Aggræ*. Strabo, vi. p. 21. *Entona* is the same as *Entona*.

⁴ Tapes, the most remarkable among the Italian towns, as *Aggræ*, with the Greek *Tapes*, is said to have been colonised by Pandion despot of Agrigentum, through a mixture of Greek and Sicel subjects, v. l. 4.

Abraga or Agriqetam, called after the neighbouring river of the former name, was founded from Gela in B.C. 558. Its chiefs were Aspinosus and Pythias, and it received the statutes and religious characteristics of Gela. Himer, on the other hand, was founded from Zerkli, under three chiefs, Eukleides, Simas, and Dekda. The chief part of its inhabitants were of Chalkide race, and its legal and religious characteristics were Chalkide. But a portion of the settlers were Syracusan exiles, called Hylidide, who had been expelled from home by a sedition, so that the Himerian dialect was a mixture of Dork and Chalkide. Himer was situated not far from the towns of the Elyai—Eryx and Egesta.

Such were the chief establishments founded by the Greeks in Sicily during the two centuries after their first settlement in 735 B.C. The few particulars just stated respecting those of the Sicilian Greeks are worthy of all confidence—for they come to us from Theophrastus—but they are unfortunately too few to afford the best satisfaction to our curiosity. It cannot be doubted that these first two centuries were periods of steady increase and prosperity among the Sicilian Greeks, undisturbed by those distractions and calamities which supervened afterwards, and which led indeed to the extraordinary aggrandisement of some of their communities, but also to the ruin of several others. Moreover it seems that the Carthaginians in Sicily gave them no trouble until the time of Gelon. Their position will indeed seem singularly advantageous, if we consider the extraordinary fertility of the soil in this fine island, especially near the sea—its capacity for corn, wine, and oil, the species of cultivation to which the Greek husbandman had been accustomed under less favourable circumstances—the abundant fisheries on the coast, so important in Grecian diet, and continuing undiminished even at the present day—together with sheep, cattle, hives, wool, and timber from the native population in the interior. These natives seem to have been of rude pastoral habits, dispersed either among petty hill-villages, or in numerous hives cut of the rock, like the primitive inhabitants of the Maltese Islands and Sarkisla; so that Sicily, like New Zealand in our century, was now for the first time approached by organised industry and tillage.¹ These

¹ Of these Elyai or Elyas were the Elyai, Abraga and also Agrig. see Strabo from the Sicilians; see also H., M., P., and the work of Capelle.

community, though doubtless in the relation of superior and subject, and not in that of equals. The Greeks on arriving in the island expelled the natives from the town, perhaps also from the lands immediately round the town. But when they gradually extended their territory, this was probably accomplished, not by the expulsion, but by the subjugation, of those Ekele tribes, whose villages, much subdivided and each individually petty, their aggressions successively touched.

At the time when Theoklis landed on the hill near Naxos, and Aekhis in the islet of Ogygia, and when each of them expelled the Ekeles from that particular spot, there were Ekele villages or little communities spread through all the neighbouring country. By the gradual encroachments of the colonists, some of these might be dispossessed and driven out of the plains near the coast into the more mountainous regions of the interior. But many of them doubtless found it convenient to submit, to surrender a portion of their lands, and to hold the rest as subordinate villages of an Hellenic city community.¹ We find even at the time of the Athenian invasion (414 B.C.) villages existing in distinct identity as Ekeles, yet subject and tributary to Syracuse.

Moreover the influence which the Greeks exerted, though in the first instance essentially compulsory, became ^{more} ~~also~~ ^{and almost} ~~also~~ ^{gradually} self-operating—the ascendancy of a higher ^{and almost} ~~also~~ ^{gradually} over a lower civilization. It was the working of concentrated barbarism, not among one another by their walls and by mutual confidence, and surrounded by more or less of commerce, public as well as private—upon dispersed, unprotected, artless villagers, who could not be insensible to the charm of that superior intellect, imagination, and organization, which wrought so powerfully upon the whole contemporaneous world. To understand the action of these superior immigrants upon the native but inferior Ekeles, during those three earliest centuries (750–450 B.C.) which followed the arrival of Aekhis and Theoklis, we have only to study the confusions of the same action during the three succeeding centuries which preceded the age of Cæsar. At the period when Athens undertook the

¹ Thucyd. vi. 2.

turned the Doric comedy was, in great part at least, the Sikeli comedy taken up by Doric composers—the Doric race and dialect being decidedly predominant in Sicily. The reasons thus dramatised belonged to that comic vein of humour which the Doric Greeks of the town had in common with the semi-hellenised Sikels of the circumjacent villages. Moreover it seems probable that this rustic population enabled the despots of the Greek-Italian towns to form easily and cheaply these bodies of mercenary troops, by whom their power was sustained,¹ and whom presence rendered the continuance of popular government, even supposing it began, all but impossible.

It was the destiny of most of the Grecian colonial establish-

native
population
in Sicily had
sufficient
strength to
prevent
hellenisation
in the
great
cities.

ments to perish by the growth and aggression of these island powers upon whom most of them were planted; powers which gradually acquired, from the variety of the Greeks, a military and political organisation, and a power of concentrated action, such as they had not originally possessed. Not in Sicily the Sikels

were not numerous enough even to maintain permanently their own nationality, and were ultimately penetrated on all sides by Hellenic ascendancy and manners. We shall nevertheless come to one remarkable attempt, made by a native Sikeli prince in the 62d Olympiad (400 B.C.)—the enterprising Diakoties to group many Sikeli petty villages into

one considerable town, and thus to raise his countrymen into the Grecian stage of polity and organisation. Had there been any Sikeli prince endowed with these superior ideas at the time when the Greeks first settled in Sicily, the subsequent history of the island would probably have been very different. But Diakoties had derived his projects from the spectacle of the Greeks coming around him, and these latter had acquired much too great power to permit him to succeed. The description of his abortive attempt, however, which we find in Diakoties,² occupies as it is, forms an interesting point in the history of the island.

Grecian colonisation in Sicily began nearly at the same time as in Italy, and was marked by the same general circumstances.

¹ *Diakoties*, *Protrakt*, v. *His-Sicilian expedition*.

² *Diakoties*, *ed.* 10, 11; *ed.* 1.

Placing ourselves at Bologna (near Reggio) on the Italian coast, we trace Greek cities gradually planted on various points of the coast as far as Cassino on the one ^{coast} and Taranto (Tarant) on the other. Between the two ^{coasts} runs the lofty chain of the Apennines, continuous to the upper part of its course, throughout Middle Italy—grasses, and allusions in the lower part, where it branches the mountains now called the Matese and the Fucine Calabris. The plains and valleys on each side of the Calabrian Apennines exhibit a luxuriance of vegetation entitled by all observers, and surpassing even that of Sicily;¹ and great as the productive power of this territory are now, there is full reason for believing that they must have been far greater in ancient times. For it has been visited by repeated earthquakes, each of which has left indelible marks of destruction. Those of 1628 and 1783 (especially the latter, whose destructive effects were on a scale such both as to life and property²) are of a date sufficiently recent to admit of recording and measuring the damage done by each; and this damage, in many parts of the south-western coast, was great and irreparable. Assisted as the epistote are, therefore, ^{pages} with which the modern traveller paints the present ^{prosperous} fertility of Calabria, we are warranted in enlarging ^{our} history. Their meaning when we consider the country as it stood between 730—300 B.C., the period of Greek occupation and independence; while the universality of, which now denudates the plains generally, seems then to have been felt only to a limited extent, and over particular localities. The borders of Tarantum,

¹ *Flora Italiana, Dissertation on the Mediterranean of Calabria*. Ugento, 1844. In *Spencer, Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. 2, p. 308.

² It is important (for reference to) to have an adequate list of the number of villages of the peninsula of Calabria, which the plain (south-west) of the Apennines below the limit of St. Ruffino. The data, particularly of allusions of larger growth, there are now elsewhere, are not productive of profit. Compared with those borders the trees on which they grow, are lower and more dense. All things grow there, and before come to the (from the extent of the mountains). There is never a sufficiency of trees to gather

the whole of the pine, which freely followed out in the history of the time that have shown in the growth of Italy and Sicily. *Constitutional*, particularly Calabria, come there to help to gather them, and share the process with the growth. Let to find that portion of vegetation in every quarter that there are good and produce." Compare pp. 11—12.

³ Mr. Crystal Ocean observes (from through the Southern Division of Europe, p. 131, p. 134). "The vegetation of Italy may be said to have almost the form of the whole of Calabria there, and extended its range as far westward as France."

Sylaric, Kaitia, Lokri, and Rhysian played themselves to extinction of unexampled pressure to the industrious cultivator, while the previous inhabitants had turned to little account; though since the subjugation of the Greek cities, these once rich possessions have sunk into poverty and depopulation, especially the last three countries, from insubricity, malice, bad administration, and fear of the Barbery corsairs.

The Chastina, Sakia, or Indusa, who were in possession of these territories in 730 A.D., seem to have been rude petty communities—providing for themselves solely by residence on lofty mountains—more pastoral than agricultural, and some of them cultivating the produce of their fields in common use, on a principle analogous to the *agrotis* of Sparta or Kaitia. King Indus was said to have introduced this peculiarity¹ among the southernmost portion of the Chastina population, and at the same time to have bestowed upon them the name of Indusa, though they were also known by the name of Sakia. Throughout the centre of Calabria between sea and sea, the high chain of the Apennines afforded protection to a certain extent both to their independence and to their pastoral habits. But these heights are made to be enjoyed in conjunction with the plains beneath, so as to alternate winter and summer pasture for the cattle. It is in this manner that the richness of the country is rendered available, since a large portion of the mountain range is buried in snow during the winter months. Such remarkable diversity of soil and climate rendered Calabria a land of promise for Greek settlement. The plains and lower mountains were as productive in corn, wine, oil, and flax as the mountains in summer pasture and timber; and abundance of rain falls upon the higher ground, which requires only industry and care to be made to impart the measure of fertility to the lower. Moreover a long line of sea-coast (though not well furnished with harbours) and an abundant supply of fish came in aid of the advantages of the soil. While the poorer freemen of the Greek cities were enabled to obtain small lots of fertile land in the neighbourhood, to be cultivated by their own hands, and to provide for the most part their own food and clothing, the

richer population made profitable use of the more distant portions of the territory by means of their cattle, sheep, and swine.

Of the Phœnic towns on this favoured coast, the earliest as well as the most prosperous were Sycharis and Krodia: both in the Gulf of Tarsus—both of Phœnic Achæan origin—and contemporaneous with each other in respect of territory. Krodia was placed not far to the west of the south-eastern extremity of the Gulf, called in ancient times the Lakonian cape, and surrounded by the temple of the Lakonian Hekê, which became alike revered and adored by the Greek residents as well as by the passing navigator. One solitary column of the temple, the humble remnant of its past magnificence, yet marks the extremity of this once-colonised promontory. Sycharis seems to have been planted in the year 750 B.C., Krodia in 750 B.C.; Siddeon was what the former,¹ Hysbeline of the latter. This large Achæan migration seems to have been connected with the previous expulsion of the Achæan population from the more easterly region of Paleopontus by the Dorians, though in what precise manner we are not enabled to see. The Achæan towns in Paleopontus appear in later times too inconsiderable as Phœnic enclaves, but probably in the eighth century B.C. their population may have been large. The town of Sycharis was planted between two rivers, the Sycharis and the Krodia² (the name of the latter borrowed from a river of Achæia); the town of Krodia, about twenty-five miles distant, on the river *Seorus*. The primitive settlers of Sycharis consisted in part of Tarsenians, who were however subsequently expelled by the more numerous Achæans—a deed of violence which was constrained by the religious sentiment of Antiochus and some other Grecian historians, as having drawn down upon them the rage of the gods in the ultimate destruction of the city by the Euxinians.³

¹ Herod., ii. p. 285. Krodia in his new edition of Strabo follows Sycharis in supplying the corruption of the name *Seorus*, which certainly derives from the word *seorus* of Greek origin. According to it is the incorrect, because, there were some at Krodia; but, Krodia being nearer to the city of Siddeon, that reading stands the stronger of the Achæan town Siddeon.

There were also towns which preceded the foundation of Krodia with Siddeon, who was ordered to have been originally granted to the eponymous hero Krodia. Strabo also mentions Krodia; see Herod., ii. p. 285. Strabo, ii. p. 285. Strabo, ii. p. 285. Strabo, ii. p. 285.

² Herod., i. 148.

³ Antioch. Hist., ii. c. 12.

The final contest between these two cities, which ended in the ruin of Sybaris, took place in 510 B.C., after the latter had subsisted in growing prosperity for 210 years. And the astonishing prosperity to which both of them attained is a sufficient proof that during most of this period they had remained in peace at least, if not in alliance and common *Achaean* brotherhood. Unfortunately, the general fact of their great size, wealth, and power is all that we are permitted to know. The walls of Sybaris embraced a circuit of 800 stadia, or near six miles, while those of Kroton were even larger, comprising little less than twelve miles.¹ A large walled circuit was advantageous for sheltering the movable property in the temporary arsenal, which was carried in on the arrival of an invading enemy. Both cities possessed an extensive dominion across the Calabrian peninsula from sea to sea. But the territorial range of Sybaris seems to have been greater and her colonies wider and more distant—a fact which may perhaps explain the swifter assault of the city.

The Sybarites were founders of Laos and Sidon, on the Mediterranean Sea in the Gulf of Policastro, and even of the more distant Pontiferae—now known by its Latin name of Fusina, as well as by the temple which still remains to decorate its deserted site. They possessed twenty-five dependant towns, and ruled over four distinct native tribes or nations. What these nations were we are not told,² but they were probably different sections of the Oenotrian name. The Erycinians also reached across to the Mediterranean Sea, and founded (upon the gulf now called St. Euphemia) the town of Tauris, and seemingly also that of Lamai.³ The inhabitants of the Epistephrian Lokri, which was situated in a more southern part of Calabria Ultra near the modern town of Genoa, extended themselves in like manner across the peninsula. They founded upon the Mediterranean coast the towns of Hippodame, Rhinea, and Metaurum,⁴ as well as Melis and Bontis, in localities not now exactly ascertained.

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 351; Livy, xiv. 2.
² Strabo, vi. p. 351; v. p. 351;
 Stephan. Geog. v. 344; Herodotus, vi.
 12.

³ Strabo, lxxv. p. 519; *Geographica*
 Strabo, lxxv. 344.

⁴ Strabo, v. p. 351; Strabo, vi. p. 351;
 Stephan. Geog. 344; Strabo, lxxv. 344;
 Herodotus, vi. 12.

Hundred Houses, who constituted what may be¹ called the nobility of the Lokruas in Green Peoper, and their descendants continued to enjoy a certain rank and pre-eminence in the colony even in the time of Polybius. The emigration is said to have been occasioned by disorderly intercourse between noble Lokruan women and their slaves—perhaps by inter-marriages with persons of inferior station where there had existed no recognised obstacles;² a fact referred, by the historians of Aristotle, to the long duration of the first Messenian war—the Lokrian warriors having for the most part manifested in the Messenian territory as auxiliaries of the Spartans during the twenty years of that war,³ permitting themselves only rare and short visits to their homes. This is a story resembling that which we shall find in explanation of the colony of Tarentum. It comes to us too imperfectly to admit of criticism or verification; but the unimpeachable character of the first emigrants is a statement deserving credit, and very unlikely to have been invented. Their first proceedings on settling in Italy display a parity in accordance with the character ascribed to them. They found the territory in the southern⁴ portion of the Calabrian promontory possessed by natives Sikels, who, alarmed at their force and afraid to try the hazard of resistance, agreed to admit them to a participation and joint residence. The covenant was concluded and sworn to by both parties in the following terms:—"There shall be friendship between us, and we will enjoy the land in common, so long as we stand upon this earth and have heads upon our shoulders". At the time when the oath was taken, the Lokruas had put earth into their shoes and concealed heads of garlic upon their shoulders; so that when they had divested themselves of these appendages, the oath was considered as no longer binding. Availing themselves of the first convenient opportunity, they attacked the Sikels by surprise and drove them out of the territory, of which they thus acquired the exclusive possession.⁵ Their first establishment was formed upon the headland itself,

¹ Polyb. vii. 4, 2, 3. Droys. Polyb. vi. 2, 23.

² This fact may possess the sanction of the colony of Lokri with the Spartans, but the statement of Pausanias (iii. 4,

7), that the Spartans in the reign of King Polydorus invited both Lokri and Kroton, seems to belong to a different historical conception.

³ Polyb. vii. 4, 1-23.

Cape Epiphyrium (now Brunswick). But after three or four years the site of the town was moved to an eminence in the neighbouring plain, in which the Ephyrienses are said to have killed them.¹

In describing the Oronian settlers in Sicily, I have already stated that they are to be considered as Greeks with a considerable infusion of blood, of habits, and of manners, from the native Sikels. The case is the same with the Dabota or Italian Greeks, and in respect to these Epiphyrian Lokrians, especially, we find it expressly noticed by Polybius. Composed as their band was of ignoble and worthless men, not bound together by strong tribe-feelings or traditional customs, they were the more ready to adopt new practices, as well religious as civil, from the Sikels. One in particular is noticed by the historian—the religious dignity called the *Philokhoros* or *Crown-bearer*, enjoyed among the native Sikels by a youth of noble birth, who performed the duties belonging to it as their meritless; but the Lokrians, while they identified themselves with the religious ceremony and adopted both the name and the dignity, altered the sex, and conferred it upon one of those women of noble blood who constituted the ornament of their settlement. Even down to the days of Polybius, some maidens descended from one of these select Etruscan Houses still continued to bear the title and to perform the ceremonial duties of *Philokhoros*. We learn from these statements how large a portion of Sikels must have become incorporated as dependants in the colony of the Epiphyrian Lokri, and how strongly marked was the intermixture of their habits with those of the Greek settlers; while the trading task among them of all countries of descent to a few noble women of noble birth is a peculiarity belonging exclusively to their city.

That a body of soldiers, formed of such expiring materials, should have fallen into much lawlessness and disorder, is noway

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 28. We find that in the ancient place of the foundation of Syracuse, Lokris, and Lokoi, reference is made to the Ephyriean settlers, either as contemporary in the varied responsibilities, or as assistants; perhaps the majority of cases from the Ephyriean Lokrians, Antiochos, who suggested the intervention of the

expeditions.

² "54 maidens, and women, called *Evangelos Lokrioi*," observed Polybius (ii. 37) performing the Ephyriean rite, and still greater honour to the epikles is called from Antiochos to Antioch (ii. 37). Polybius (ii. 37) The result is *Philokhoros* to Lokoi.

in laws than it included a great council of 1000 members, and a chief executive magistrate called Kosmepolis; it is spoken of also as strictly and carefully administered.

The date of Rhagusa (Ragusa), separated from the territory of the Epimephyrian Lokri by the river Sikula, must Rhagusa have been not only earlier than Lokri, but even earlier than Sybaris—and the statement of Antiochus be correct, that the colonists were joined by those Heracleians, who, prior to the first Messenian war, were anxious to make expiation to the Spartans for the outrage offered to the Spartan maidens at the temple of Artemis Laseiaia, but were overborne by their countrymen and forced into exile. A different version however is given by Pausanias of the migration of Meseonians to Rhagusa, yet still admitting the fact of such migration at the close of the first Messenian war, which would place the foundation of the city rather than 730 B.C. Though Rhagusa was a Chalkidian colony, yet a portion of its inhabitants seem to have been undoubtedly of Messenian origin, and amongst these Anaxilas, despot of the town between 500—475 B.C., who traced his descent through two centuries to a Messenian emigrant named Alkionides.¹ The celebrity and power of Anaxilas, just at the time when the ancient history of the Greek towns was beginning to be set forth in prose and with some degree of system, raised the Messenian element in the population of Rhagusa to be noticed prominently. But the town was essentially Chalkidian, connected by colonial relationships with the Chalkidian settlements in Sicily—Sackth, Naxos, Katana, and Leontini. The original emigrants departed from Chalkida, as a result of the citizens connected by vow to Apollo in consequence of famine; and the directions of the god, as well as the invitation of the Sackthians, guided their course to Rhagusa. The town was flourishing, and acquired a considerable number of dependent villages around,² inhabited doubtless by cultivators of the indigenous population. But it seems to have been often at variance with the contemporary Lokrians, and received considerable defeat, in conjunction with the Thurians, which will be hereafter recorded.

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 507; Pausan. ix. 25. 3. Anaxilas is also Thurian, when, and again.
² Strabo, vi. p. 507. Pausan. ix. 25. 3. Anaxilas is also Thurian, when, and again.

Between Lokri and the Lokrian cape were situated the Aeolian colony of Kaulonia, and Rhylidion; the latter seemingly included in the domain of Kroton, though pretending to have been originally founded by Minos.¹ Meanwhile, the leader of the Achaean at the siege of Troy: Peleus, also, a half-brother north-west of the Lokrian cape, as well as Hekala, both comprised in the territory of Kroton, were affirmed to have been founded by Phokleides. Along all this coast of the Gulf of Tarentum, there were various establishments ascribed to the heroes of the Trojan war²—Egeus, Phokleides, Nestor—or to their returning troops. Of these establishments, probably the originals had been small, uncolonised, unacknowledged bands of Greek adventurers,³ who assumed to themselves the most honourable origin which they could imagine, and who became afterwards absorbed into the larger colonial establishments which followed; the latter adopting and taking upon themselves the heroic worship of Phokleides or other warriors from Troy, which the prior migrants had begun.

During the flourishing times of Sybaris and Kroton, it seems that these two great cities divided the whole length of the coast of the Tarentine Gulf, from the spot now called *Rocca Imperiale* down to the mouth of the Lokrian cape. Between the point where the domain of Sybaris terminated on the Tarentine side, and Tarentum itself, there were two considerable Greek settlements—Siris, afterwards called Herakleia, and Meta-Herakleia. The locality and situation of the territory of Siris, with its two rivers, Akiris and Sura, were well known even to the poet Archilochus⁴ (680 B.C.), but we do not know the date at which it passed from the indigenous Chalcians or Chalcians into the hands of Greek settlers. A citizen of Siris is mentioned among the suitors for the daughter of the Egeyrian Kleitharus (580—500 B.C.). We are told that some Karyphosian fugitives, emigrating to escape the dominion of the Lydian kings, attacked and possessed themselves of the spot, giving to it the name Pelosion. The Chalcians of Siris ascribed to themselves a Trojan

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 361; Apollon. Rhod. *Argo*, v. 108; Apollon. vii. p. 358. It has been suggested that the fragments of the *Argonautica* before Troy, that the allusion to Minos refers to Rhylidion.

² *Argonautica* near Sybaris (vii. p. 358).

³ *Argonautica*, *Geographica*, part iv. p. 2, ch. 11, p. 101.

⁴ Archiloch. *Fragmenta*, 27, at *Herakleia*.

origia, exhibiting a wooden image of the linen Afshai, which they affirmed to have been brought away by their fugitive ancestors after the capture of Troy. When the town was stormed by the Ionians, many of the inhabitants fled to this rock for protection, but were dragged away and slain by the victors,¹ whose sacrifice was supposed to have been the cause that their settlement was not derelict. At the time of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, the fertile territory of Sirlia was considered as still open to be colonised; for the Athenians, when their affairs appeared desperate, had this scheme of migration in reserve as a possible resource,² and there were inspired declarations from some of the contemporary prophets which encouraged them to undertake it. At length, when the town of Thuri had been founded by Athens, in the vicinity of the dismantled Sybura, the Thurians tried to possess themselves of the Sirlia territory, but were opposed by the Tarantines.³ According to the compromise concluded between them, Tarantium was recognised as the metropolis of the colony, but joint possession was allowed both to Tarantium and Thurians. The former transferred the site of the city, under the new name Mebakkia, to a spot three miles from the sea, leaving Sirlia as the place of maritime access to it.⁴

About twenty-five miles eastward of Sirlia on the coast of the Tarantine Gulf was situated Metapontum, a Greek *paucis*-town which was affirmed by some to derive its origin ^{from} from the Pylian companions of Nestor—by others, from the Phælian warriors of Epeius, on their return from Troy. The proofs of the former were exhibited in the worship of the Hælid heroes,—the proofs of the latter in the preservation of the reputed identical tools with which Epeius had constructed the Trojan horse.⁵ Metapontum was planted on the territory of the

¹ Herodot. i. 175; Strabo, vi. p. 381. The same Pausanias seems to report Sirlia as *Arcton*. Strab. loc. cit.

Strabo assigns this Kolophonian settlement of Sirlia to the sons of Orpheus the Lydian, for which he offers no proof, except the statement that Orpheus had an establishment at Sirlia (Strabo, l. vi.) but that he is silent that the Kolophonians then emigrated; for Kolophon was a very

flourishing and prosperous city after Troy.

Strabo (loc. cit.) gives a story of mysterious emigration connected with the colony of Athens to Sirlia, which appears to be totally different from the tale respecting the Kolophonians.

² Strabo, loc. cit.

³ Strabo, vi. p. 384.

⁴ Strabo, l. vi.

⁵ Strabo, l. vi.; Pausan. vi. 1; Valerius Maxim. l. 3; Arrian. Hist.

Chalcidians or Euboeians, but the first colony is said to have been destroyed by an attack of the Samnians,¹ at what period we do not know. It had been founded by some Achaean settlers—under the direction of the eldest Evadne, daughter of the Phokian Krates, and invited by the inhabitants of Sybasta—who feared that the place might be appropriated by the neighbouring Thespians, colonists from Sparta and hereditary enemies in Peloponnesus of the Achaean race. Before the new settlers arrived, however, the place seems to have been already appropriated by the Thespians; for the Achaean Leokrippus only obtained their permission to land by a fraudulent promise, and after all had to sustain a fearful struggle both with them and with the neighbouring Euboeians, which was compromised by a division of territory. The fertility of the Megaspontian territory was hardly less celebrated than that of the Sikil.²

Further eastward of Megaspontion, again at the distance of about twenty-five miles, was situated the great city of Tarn or Truantum, a colony from Sparta founded after the first Messenian war, accordingly about 707 B.C. The eldest Phalaethus, said to have been a Herakleid, was placed at the head of a body of Spartan emigrants—consisting principally of some citizens called Epameidae and of the youth called Peribontes, who had been disgraced by their countrymen on account of their origin and were on the point of breaking out into rebellion. It was out of the Messenian war that this emigration is stated to have arisen, in a manner analogous to that which has been stated respecting the Ephyraeian Lokrians. The Lakodemonians, before entering

Appendix A. 101. This story respecting the presence and disappearance of Sparta may have arisen through the Phokian colony from Sikil.

¹ The words of Orosius—*destruxit*—of the Samnians (p. 101) can hardly be construed with the immediately following narrative which he gives out of question, respecting the refusal of the place by new Achaean settlers, invited by the Achaeans of Sybasta. For the latter place was refused to Samnians in 474 B.C.—*persecutus* by the Achaeans of Sybasta must therefore be referred to that date. It being no daughter of Krates is to be assumed as the eldest of Megaspontion, the place-

tion of it must be placed early in the first half of the sixth century B.C.; but it is also generally admitted to indicate the settlement of Messenian colonists to the Gulf of Trapani as an early period as 474. I therefore connect the words of Antiochus as referring to the original settlement of Megaspontion by the Phokians, not to the refusal of the Samnians the permission by the Samnians.

² Strabo, l. 9, § 1; Strabo's *Ev. 17*. Messenians; Messenians Megaspontion and Sikil in a surprising manner.

Life (p. 101) Messenians Megaspontion by Achaeans; Orosius *Ev. 17*, Orosius, vol. 4, p. 101.

to believe that it partook in the general prosperity of the Italian Greeks during those two centuries, though sustaining injuries both to Sybaris and to Kroton. About the year 610 B.C. these two latter republics went to war, and Sybaris was nearly destroyed; while in the subsequent half century the Krotonians suffered the terrible defeat of Sygus from the Lokrians, and the Thurienses experienced an equally ruinous defeat from the Lapygian Messapians. From these reverses, however, the Thurienses appear to have recovered more completely than the Krotonians; for the former stood first among the Italiote or Italian Greeks, from the year 480 B.C. down to the supremacy of the Romans, and made better head against the growth of the Lucanians and Bruttians of the interior.

Such were the chief cities of the Italian Greeks from Thurium on the upper sea to Paestum on the lower; and if we take them during the period preceding the ruin of Sybaris (in 610 B.C.), they will appear to have enjoyed a degree of prosperity even surpassing that of the Hellenic Greeks. The dominion of Sybaris, Kroton, and Lokri extended across the peninsula from sea to sea. The mountainous regions of the interior of Calabria were held in amicable connexion with the cities and cultivators in the plain and valley near the sea—to the reciprocal advantage of both. The petty native tribes of Eleutherians, Skoloi, or Ithians, properly so-called, were partially hellenized, and brought into the condition of village cultivators and shepherds dependent upon Sybaris and its fellow-cities; a portion of them dwelling in the towns, probably, as domestic slaves of the rich men, but most of them remaining in the country regions as serfs, Penestes, or coloni, intermingled with Greek settlers, and paying over parts of their produce to Greek proprietors.

But this dependence, though accomplished in the first instance by force, was yet not upheld uniformly by force. It was to a great degree the result of an organized march of life, and of more productive cultivation brought within their reach—of new wants, both created and supplied—of temples, festivals, ships, wars, chariots, &c., which imposed upon the imagination of the rude Lucanians and shepherds. Against more force the natives could have found shelter in the unconquerable Kroton and ravine of

Prosperity
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Sybaris, the ancient enemy of the Kresnaster, to point their moral; and that the suggested reputation of the city thus fast became the subject of common talk throughout the classical world. For little could be usually known of Sybaris in detail, were its habitation dated from the first commencement of *Greek contemporary history*. Histories of *Millets* may perhaps have varied it in its full splendour, but even Herodotus knew it only by past report; and the principal anecdote respecting it was used long centuries considerably later than him, who follow the line of thought so common in antiquity, in ascribing the ruin of the Sybarites to their overindulgent dissipation and luxury.¹

Making allowance, however, for exaggeration in all these accounts, there can be no reason to doubt that Sybaris, in 600 B.C., was one of the most wealthy, populous, and powerful cities of the Hellenic zone; and that it also presented both uncomfortable abundance among the mass of the citizens, arising from the easy attainment of fresh lots of fertile land, and excessive indulgence among the rich—to a degree forming marked contrast with Helios Proper, of which Herodotus characterised Poverty as the sister-city.² The extraordinary productivity of the neighbouring territory—alleged by Varro, in his time, when the culture must have been much worse than it had been under the old Sybaris, to yield an ordinary crop of a hundred-fold,³ and extolled by modern travellers even in the pre-

¹ Thus Herodotus (ii. 175) refers to what he says was the splendour of Sybaris, derived from all the various sources of proper luxury for the part of the continent, including also of Sybaris, more among the number, "the most delicious and abundant man, you know" has, however, given its only source—Herodotus, ii. 175, and Sybaris was at that time (B.C. 600—500) in its greatest prosperity. In Cicero's time, and later writers subsequent to Aristotle, greater credit was given. Sybaris was said to have fallen, while him to his marriage his domestic affairs, Herodotus, Histories, and other (Lipsius, v. 27, 28, 29). The details of Sybaris history, given in a German, are slightly corrected from those of this post-classical age—

Herodotus, Histories, ii. 175, 176, 177. The last-mentioned of all the accounts of Sybaris, which is the account of Herodotus, is the most reliable in detail, which also contains the details of the city's history in the time of the Hellenic period. Herodotus of Sybaris, however, and his account of the city's history, and its fall, is the most reliable of the account, and it is said to have been of the city's history for the time of the Hellenic period. Finally the Herodotus account is the most reliable of the account, and it is said to have been of the city's history for the time of the Hellenic period. Finally the Herodotus account is the most reliable of the account, and it is said to have been of the city's history for the time of the Hellenic period.

² Herodotus, ii. 175, of which every one can see the evidence.

³ Varro, De Re Rustica, l. 24. * 25

formed the premeditated march in certain Sybaritic festivals—a number which is best appreciated by comparison with the fact, that the knights or horsemen of Athens in her best days did not exceed 1000. The Sybaritic houses, if we are to believe a story purporting to come from Aristotle, were taught to move to the sound of the flute; and the garments of these wealthy citizens were composed of the finest wool from Miletus in Ionia¹—the Thracians wool not having then acquired the distinguished renown which it possessed five centuries afterwards towards the close of the Roman republic. Next to the great abundance of home produce—corn, wine, oil, flax, cattle, fish, timber, &c.—the fact next in importance which we hear respecting Sybaris is the great trade carried on with Miletus: these two cities were more intimately and affectionately connected together than any two Hellenic cities within the knowledge of Herodotus.² The tie between Thracia and Rhodes was also of a very intimate character,³ so that the great intercourse, personal as well as commercial, between the Asiatic and the Ionic Greeks, appears as a marked fact in the history of the sixth century before the Christian era.

In this respect, as well as in several others, the Hellenic world wears a very different aspect in 600 B.C. from that which it assumed a century afterwards, and in which it is best known to modern readers. At the former period the Ionic and

Italic Greeks are the great ornaments of the Hellenic race, carrying on a more lucrative trade with each other than either of them maintained with Greece Proper; which both of them recognised as their mother country, though without admitting anything in the nature of established kinship. The military power of Sparta is indeed at this time great and preponderant in Peloponnesus, but she has no navy, and she is only just-asserting her strength, not without reluctance, in ultramarine interferences. After the lapse of a century, these circumstances change materially. The independence of the

direction
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Ionic and
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Greeks were
then the
most
prominent
among
Greeks.

¹ Aristotle, *pol.* p. 409.

² Herodotus, *vi.* 12. According to the great abundance of antiquities in the vicinity of the Ionian Channel (Greece, see *Philop.* *vi.* 40; *id.* 42).

The chief from the pine forests in the Ion, was also abundant and celebrated (Herodotus, *vi.* p. 1041).

³ Herodotus *iii.* 108.

Asiatic Greece is destroyed, and the power of the Ionic Greeks is greatly broken; while Sparta and Athens not only become the predominant and leading Hellenic States, but constitute themselves centres of action for the lesser states to a degree previously unknown.

It was during the height of their prosperity, accordingly, in the sixth century B.C., that the Ionic Greeks either acquired for, or bestowed upon, their territory the appellation of *Magna Græcia*, which at that time it well deserved; for not only were Sybaris and Croton then the greatest Greek cities situated near together, but the whole peninsula of Calabria may be considered as attached to the Greek cities on the coast. The native *Chonians* and *Skellæ* occupying the interior had become heliœnized or semi-heliœnized with a mixture of Greeks among them—common subjects of these great cities. The whole extent of the Calabrian peninsula, within an imaginary straight line carried from Sybaris to Pandionia, might then be fairly considered as Hellenic territory. Sybaris maintained much traffic with the *Tarentine* towns in the Mediterranean; so that the communication between Greece and Rome, across the Calabrian isthmus,¹ may perhaps have been easier during the time of the Roman kings (whose expulsion was nearly contemporaneous with the ruin of Sybaris) than it became afterwards during the first two centuries of the Roman republic. But all these ^{sources of the rise of} relations underwent a complete change after the ^{the fall of} breaking up of the power of Sybaris in 510 B.C., and the gradual march of the *Oscan* population from Middle Italy towards the south. *Croton* was overwhelmed by the *Samnites*, *Pandionia* by the *Lucanians*; who became possessed not only of these maritime cities, but also of the whole inland territory (now called the *Basilicata*, with part of the *Erither Calabria*) across from *Pandionia* to the neighbourhood of the Gulf of *Tarentum*; while the *Bronziæ*—a mixture of early *Lucanians* with the *Grecæ-Etruscan* population once subject to Sybaris, speaking both Greek and *Oscan*²—became masters of the inland mountains in the *Parthene Calabria* from *Concastia* nearly to the *Stallan* street. It was thus that the ruin of Sybaris, combined with the spread of the *Lucanians* and *Bronziæ*, deprived the Ionic

¹ *Adriaticum*, *alt. p. 216*.

² *Palmer*, *v. Magnæ Græciæ*.

Greeks of that island territory which they had enjoyed in the sixth century B.C., and relocated them to the neighbourhood of the coast. To understand the extraordinary power and prosperity of Sybaris and Kroton, in the sixth century B.C., when the whole of this island territory was subject to them, and before the rise of the Locrans and Brithons, and when the name *Magna Græcia* was first given—it is necessary to glance by contrast at those later periods; more especially since the same name still continued to be applied by the Romans to Italian Greece after the contraction of territory had rendered it less appropriate.

Of Kroton at this early period of its power and prosperity we know even less than of Sybaris. It stood distinguished both for the number of its citizens who secured prizes at the Olympic games, and for the excellence of its surgeons or physicians. And what may seem more surprising, if we consider the extreme remoteness of the site upon which it stood, it was in ancient times proverbially healthy,¹ which was not so much the case with the more fertile Sybaris. Suspecting all these claims of Italian Greece, the same remark is applicable as was before made in reference to the Sicilian Greeks—that the intercourse of the native population sensibly affected both their character and habits. We have no information respecting their government during this early period of prosperity, except that we find mention at Kroton (as at the Epizephyrian Lokroi) of a senate of 1000 members, not yet excluding occasionally the citizens or general assembly.² Probably the steady increase of their dominion in the interior, and the facility of providing maintenance for a new population, tended much to make their political system, whatever they may have been, work in a satisfactory manner. The attempt of Pythagoras and his followers to constitute themselves a ruling faction as well as a philosophical sect will be recounted in a subsequent chapter. The proceedings connected with that attempt will show that there was considerable analogy and sympathy between the various cities of Italian Greece, so as to render them liable to be acted on by the same causes. But

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 295.

² *Antiquitates*, i. c. 17. Strabo, c. 16; c. 15, p. 124.

though the doctrine of the Eubœian Hîra, administered by the Krotonates, formed from early times a common point of religious assemblage to all¹—yet the attempts to institute periodical meetings of deputies, for the express purpose of maintaining political harmony, did not begin until after the destruction of Sybaris, nor were they ever more than partially successful.

One other city, the most distant colony founded by Greeks in the western regions, yet remains to be mentioned; and we can do no more than mention it, since we have no facts to make up its history. Massalia, the modern Marseilles, was founded by the Ionic Phœnians in the 43d Olympiad, about 597 B.C.,² at the time when Sybaris and Kroton were near the zenith of their power—when the peninsula of Calabria was all Hellenic, and when Oenon also had not yet been visited by those calamities which brought about its decline. So much Hellenism in the south of Italy doubtless facilitated the western progress of the adventurous Phœnian mariner. It would appear that Massalia was founded by antipodal fusion of Phœnian colonists with the indigenous Greeks, if we may judge by the romantic legend of the Proteida, a Massaliotic family or gens existing in the time of Aristotle. Euxenor, a Phœnian merchant, had contracted friendly relations with Narce, a native chief in the south of Gaul, and was invited to the festival in which the latter was about to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Petta. According to the custom of the country, the suitor was to choose for himself a husband among the guests by presenting him with a cup: through accident, or by preference, Petta presented it to Euxenor, and became his wife. Petta of Massalia, the offspring of this marriage, was the primitive ancestor and eponym of the Proteida. According to another story respecting the origin of the same gens, Petta was himself the Phœnian leader who married Gyptis, daughter of Narceus king of the Septentrional Gauls.³

¹ *Atheniensis*, cii. 421.

² This date depends upon Thucyd. the opinion of Herodotus (Cron. 102) and Aristotle: these names are varied in the following B. through Thucydides ii. 101 and Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, ii. 125) seem to coincide. Massalia, as founded by the Phœnians about 597 years later, when Ionia was conquered

by Darius (see Herodotus, *Historia*, lib. viii. 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

³ *Aristotle*, *Metaphysics*, c. 125. *op. Atheniensis*, cii. p. 421; *Strabo*.

distinguished from the Italian and Sicilian Greeks, may be plausibly attributed to their partial fusion with pre-existing Labracians; for the ante-Hellenic natives of Magna Græcia and Sicily (as has been already noticed) were so represented at sea as the Labracians were expert.

At the time when the Corinthians were about to colonize Sicily, it was natural that they should also wish to plant a settlement at ^{early} ^{settlement} ^{at Kerkira} ^{from} ^{wealth} Kerkira, which was a post of great importance for facilitating the voyage from Peloponnesus to Italy, and was further convenient for traffic with Epirus, at that period altogether non-Hellenic. Their choice of a site was fully justified by the prosperity and power of the colony, which, however, though sometimes in communication with the mother-city, was more frequently alienated from her and hostile, and continued so throughout most part of the three centuries from 700—400 B.C.¹ Perhaps also Molybdia and Chalkis,² on the south-western coast of Æolia, not far from the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, may have been founded by Corinth at a date hardly less early than Kerkira.

It was at Corinth that the earliest improvements in Greek ship-building, and the first construction of the immense or war-masted ship with a triple bank of oars, was introduced. ^{of Persian} ^{was} It was probably from Corinth that this improvement ^{Corinth} passed to Kerkira, as it did to Samos. In early times, the Kerkiran navy was in a condition to cope with the Corinthians; and the most ancient naval battle known to Thucydides³ was one between these two states, in 504 B.C. As far as we can make out, it appears that Kerkira maintained her independence not only during the government of the Despotids at Corinth, but also throughout the long reign of the despot Erychiæ, and a part of the reign of his son Periander. But towards the close of this latter reign, we find Kerkira subject to Corinth. The barbarous treatment inflicted by Periander, in revenge for the death of his son, upon 500 Kerkiran youths, has already been recounted in a former chapter.⁴ After the death of Periander, the island seems to have regained

¹ Herodot. II. 48.

² Thucyd. I. 102; II. 104.

³ Thucyd. I. 10.

⁴ Herodot. II. 48-51; see above, chap. IX.

its independence, but we are left without any particulars respecting it from about 325 B.C. down to the period shortly preceding the invasion of Greece by Xerxes—nearly a century. At this latter epoch the Eorkyræans possessed a moral force hardly inferior to any state in Greece. The expulsion of the Hypæchids from Corinth, and the re-establishment of the previous oligarchy or something like it, does not seem to have wounded the Eorkyræans to their mother-city. For it was immediately previous to the Peloponnesian war that the Corinthians professed the bitterest complaints against them,¹ of seeing at night their obligations which a colony was generally understood to be obliged to render. No place of honour was reserved at the public festivals of Eorkyra for Corinthian visitors, nor was it the practice to offer to the latter the first taste of the victims sacrificed—*stauracra* which were doubtless respectfully furnished at Ambrakia and Lorkha. Nevertheless the Eorkyræans had taken part conjointly with the Corinthians in favour of Sparta, when that city was in imminent danger of being besieged and captured by Hippokleides² (about 424 B.C.)—an incident showing that they were not destitute of generous sympathy with sister states, and leading us to imagine that their alienation from Corinth was as much the fault of the mother-city as their own.

The grounds of the quarrel were, probably, jealousies of trade—especially trade with the Epiriots and Illyrian tribes, ^{ἐπὶ τῇ ἑλπίδι} wherein both were to a great degree rivals. ^{ἐπὶ τῇ ἑλπίδι} Both at home and industrious in the culture of their fertile ^{ἐπὶ τῇ ἑλπίδι} island, the Eorkyræans were able to furnish wine and oil to the Epiriots on the mainland, in exchange for the cattle, sheep, hides, and wool of the latter—more easily and cheaply than the Corinthian merchants. And for the purpose of this trade, they had possessed themselves of a Portus or strip of the mainland immediately on the other side of the intervening strait, where they fortified various posts for the protection of their property.³ The Corinthians were personally more popular among the Epiriots than the Eorkyræans;⁴ but it was not until long after

¹ Thucyd. i. 90—91.

² Thucyd. vii. 28.

³ Thucyd. iii. 86. These articles

these are probably alluded to also i.

Thucyd. i. 90. For further papers.

⁴ Thucyd. i. 90.

the foundation of Korkyra that they established their first settlement on the mainland—Anchæon, on the north side of the Ambrakiotis Gulf, near the mouth of the river Arachthos. It was during the reign of Kypselos, and under the guidance of his son Gorgos, that this settlement was planted, which afterwards became populous and considerable. We know nothing respecting its growth, and we hear only of a despot named Perandros as ruling in it, probably related to the despot of the same name at Corinth.¹ Perandros of Anchæon was overthrown by a private conspiracy, provoked by his own brutality and widely seconded by the citizens, who lived peacefully afterwards under a popular government.²

Notwithstanding the long-continued dissensions between Korkyra and Corinth, it appears that four considerable settlements on this same line of coast were formed by the joint enterprise of both—Lakke and Anaktoron, to the south of the mouth of the Ambrakiotis Gulf—and Apollonia and Ephepsos, both in the territory of the Illyrians, at some distance to the north of the Akrotaurion promontory. In the settlement of the two latter, the Korkyreans seem to have been the principals—in that of the two former, they were only auxiliaries. It probably did not suit their policy to favour the establishment of any new colony on the intermediate coast opposite to their own island, between the promontory and the gulf above-mentioned. Lakke, Anaktoron, and Anchæon are all referred to the agency of Kypselos the Corinthian. The tranquillity which Aristotle ascribes to his reign may be in part ascribed to the new homes thus provided for poor or discontented Corinthian citizens.

Lakke was situated near the modern Santa Maura; the present island was originally a peninsula, and continued to be so until the time of Themistokles; but in the succeeding half-century, the Lakonians cut through the isthmus, and erected a bridge across the narrow strait connecting them with the mainland. It had been once an Akrotaurion settlement, named Ephepsos, the inhabitants of which, falling into civil dissensions, invited 1000 Corinthian settlers to join them. The new colony, choosing

¹ Strabo, *op. cit.* p. 479, l. 5. p. 477: *Strab. de Colon. Græc.* vol. II. p. 164. *Strabo. Ch. 427*: *Strabo. Bithynia*. ² *Aristot. Polit.* l. II. c. 2. l. 1.

oligarchies under the management of the primitive leaders of the colony—that in Epidamnus, the artisans and craftsmen in the town were considered in the light of slaves belonging to the public—but that in process of time (scarcely somewhat before the Peloponnesian War) intestine dissensions broke up the oligarchy,¹ substituted a periodical senate, with occasional public assemblies, in place of the permanent phylarchæ or chiefs of tribes, and thus introduced a form more or less democratical, yet still retaining the original single-headed archon. The Epidamnian government was liberal in the admission of natives or resident aliens—a fact which renders it probable that the alleged public slavery of artisans in that town was a status carrying with it some of the hardships of actual slavery. It was through an authorised selling agent, or *Politeia*, that all traffic between Epidamnus and the neighbouring Illyrians was carried on—individual dealing with them being interdicted.² Apollonia was in one respect pointedly distinguished from Epidamnus, since she excluded natives or resident strangers with a degree of rigour hardly inferior to Sparta. These few facts are all that we are permitted to hear respecting colonies both important in themselves and interesting as they brought the Greeks into connection with distant people and regions.

The six colonies just named—Korkyra, Ambrakia, Anaktoria, Leuke, Apollonia, and Epidamnus—form an aggregate lying apart from the Hellenic mass and unconnected with each other, though not always maintained in harmony, by analogy of race and position, as well as by their common ^{relations} origin from Corinth. That the commerce which the ^{between} Corinthian merchants carried on with them, and ^{them} ^{and} ^{the} ^{interior} ^{of} ^{the} ^{country} through them with the tribes in the interior, was ^{extensive} ^{and} ^{active}, we can have no doubt; and Leuke and Ambrakia continued for a long time to be not merely faithful allies, but zealous imitators of their mother-city. The commerce of Korkyra is also represented as very extensive, and carried even to the northern extremity of the Ioudæ Gulf. It would seem

¹ Thucyd. i. 10; Aristotle, *Politi.* ii. 4. ² *Ibid.*—see G. Muller, *Græcæ, v. 21.*
² *Ibid.* ii. 1, 2; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

The situation of the six colonies are: ¹ *Ibid.*—see G. Muller, *Græcæ, v. 21.*
² *Ibid.*—see G. Muller, *Græcæ, v. 21.*

that they were the first Greeks to open a trade and to establish various settlements on the Illyrian and Dalmatian coasts, as the Phoenicians were the first to carry their traffic along the Adriatic coast of Italy. The jars and pottery of Korkyra enjoyed great reputation throughout all parts of the Gulf.¹ The general trade of the island, and the encouragement for its shipping, must probably have been greater during the sixth century B.C., while the cities of Magna Græcia were at the height of their prosperity, than in the ensuing century, when they had comparatively declined. Nor can we doubt that the vastness and proximity to the cradle of Dôlfinia, in Epirus, which was distant two days' journey on landing from Korkyra, and the importance of which was most sensible during the earlier periods of Grecian history, contributed to swell the traffic of the Korkyreans.

It is worthy of notice that the monetary system established at Korkyra was thoroughly Grecian and Corinthian, graduated on the usual scale of obols, drachmas, minæ, and talents, without including any of those native Italian or Etruscan elements which were adopted by the cities in Magna Græcia and Sicily. The type of the Corinthian minæ seems also to have passed to those of Leontina and Ambrakia.²

Of the islands of Zakynthos and Kephallenia (Zante and Cephalonia) we hear very little; of Ithakia, so interesting from the story of the *Odyssey*, we have no historical information at all. The inhabitants of Zakynthos were Achæans from Peloponnesus: Kephallenia was distributed among four separate city-governments.³ Neither of these islands plays any part in Grecian history until the time of the maritime capture of Athens, after the Persian war.

¹ W. C. Miller, *The Government of Greece*, ch. 2, p. 50-51; *Archæol. Monist.*, *Ann. n. 1873*; *Strabon.*, v. *Geograph. Anecdota*; *Strabon.*, i. 141.

The allusion in the above passage of the *Prolegomena* is to be taken in connection with the subsequent chapter of *Strabon* (viii. 141), wherein the celebrated (though entirely untrue) story is given that the first

harbour looked at a certain point of the coast into two streams, one flowing into the Adriatic, the other into the *Strophæ*.

² See the *Inscriptions No. 1036* and *No. 1041*, in the collection of *Strabon*, and *Strabon's Geography*, vii. 8, v. 27. Regarding the Corinthian minæ see *Strabon* (viii. 141) and *Strabon's Geography*.

³ *Strabon.* i. 50-51.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AFRIMANIAN.—EPISCOTS.

SOME notice must be taken of those barbarous or semi-Hellenic nations who formed the immediate neighbours of Helles, west of the range of Pindus, and north of that range which connects Pindus with Olympus—as well as of those other tribes who, though lying more remote from Helles Proper, were yet brought into relations of traffic or hostility with the Hellenic colonies.

Between the Greeks and these foreign neighbours, the Achromani, of whom I have already spoken briefly above, in my preceding volume, form the proper link of ¹connection. They occupied the territory between the river Achelous, the Iovian Sea, and the Ambracian Gulf: they were Greeks, and admitted as such to contend at the Pan-Hellenic games;² yet they were also closely connected with the Amphiloeki and Agroi, who were not Greeks. In manners, sentiments, and intelligence, they were half-Hellenic and half-Episcoti—like the *Medioni* and the *Quilian Lokrisi*. Even down to the time of Theophrastus, these nations were subdivided into numerous petty communities, lived in unfortified villages, were frequently in the habit of plundering each other, and never permitted themselves to be united: in case of attack, they withdrew their families and their scanty stock, chiefly cattle, to the shelter of *sklissi* mountains or marshes. They were for the most part light-armed, few among them being trained to the pancefy of the Greek hoplite; but they were both brave and skilful in their own mode of warfare, and the sling in the hands of the Achromanian was a weapon of formidable efficiency.³

¹ See *Antiq. Numm. west. Delos*, vol. *Strabon*; *Strab.* v. *Amphiloeki*.

² *Antiq.* i. 26; *Theophr.* ii. 2.

impossible of all who bear the Hellenic name, and whose habitual selfishness stood in marked contrast with the regularity and steadiness of the Akarnanian character? It was in order to strengthen the Akarnanians against these rapacious neighbours that the Macedonian Alexander urged them to consolidate their numerous small townships into a few considerable ones. Partially at least the recommendation was carried into effect, so as to agglomerate Stratus and one or two other towns. But in the succeeding century, the town of Loukos seems to lose its original position as a separate Thracian colony, and to pass into that of chief city of Akarnania,¹ which it lost only by the sentence of the Roman conquerors.

Passing over the borders of Akarnania, we find small nations or tribes not considered as Greeks, but known, from the fourth century B.C. downwards, under the common name of Epirota. This word signifies properly inhabitants of a continent as opposed to those of an island or a peninsula. It was only gradually to be applied by the Greeks as their comprehensive domination to designate all those diverse tribes, between the Ambrakian Gulf on the south and west, Pindus on the east, and the Illyrians and Macedonians to the north and north-east. Of these Epirota, the principal were—the Chaonians, Thesprotians, Kaulotians, and Molossians,² who occupied the country inland as well as maritime along the Ionian Sea from the Akrokorinthian mountains to the borders of Achaia in the interior of the Ambrakian Gulf. The Agronians and Amphilochians dwelt eastward of the last-mentioned gulf, bordering upon Akarnania: the Athamians, the Tymphaeans, and the Talaia lived along the western skirts and high range of Pindus. Among these various tribes it is difficult to discriminate the semi-Hellenic from the non-Hellenic; for Herodotus considers both Molossians and Thesprotians as Hellenic—and the words of Diodorus, as well as the Kikymenastion (or holy stream for evoking the dead) of Acheris, were both in the territory of the Thesprotians, and both (in the time of the Maccusæ) Hellenic. Thurydida, on the other hand, treats both Molossians and Thesprotians as barbaric, and Strabo says the

Epirota—
comprising
different
tribes, with
some of no
etymological
value.

¹ Polyb. *loc. cit.*; compare also *loc. cit.* 18. 12. 27; *ibid.* 21.

² Diodor. *ibid.* 17. 1. 14; 18. 1. 1. ³ *ibid.* 18. 1. 1. 18—21.

ness respecting the *Albanenses*, whom Ptolemy names as *Hellectæ*.¹ As the *Epirotes* were confounded with the *Hellectæ* communities towards the south, so they became blended with the *Macedonian* and *Illyrian* tribes towards the north. The *Macedonian Orestæ*, north of the *Cambesius* mountains and east of *Paides*, are called by *Hekataeus* a *Molossian* tribe; and *Strabo* even extends the designation *Epirotes* to the *Illyrian Paucori* and *Arctines*, west of *Paides*, nearly on the same parallel of latitude with the *Orestæ*.² It must be remembered (as observed above), that while the designations *Illyrians* and *Macedonians* are properly assumed, given to denote analogies of language, habits, feeling, and supposed origin, and probably acknowledged by the people themselves—the name *Epirotes* belongs to the Greek language, is given by Greeks alone, and marks nothing except residence on a particular portion of the continent. *Thucydides* (about 440 B.C.) reckoned fourteen distinct *Epirotic* nations, among whom the *Molossians* and *Chaonians* were the principal. It is possible that some of these may have been semi-*Illyrian*, others semi-*Macedonian*, though all were comprised by him under the common name *Epirotes*.³

Of these various tribes, who dwell between the *Albanian* promontory and the *Adriatic* Gulf, some at least appear to have been of ethnic kindred with portions of the inhabitants of Southern Italy. There were *Chaonians* on the Gulf of *Tarentum* before the arrival of the Greek settlers, as well as in *Epiros*. Though we do not find the name *Thesprotians* in Italy, we find there a town named *Paides*, and a river named *Acheris*, the same as among the *Epirotic Thesprotians*; the ubiquitous name *Pelagias* is connected both with one and with the other. This ethnic affinity, remote or near, between *Chaonians* and *Epirotes*,

¹ *Strabo*, l. vi, p. 127; *Pliny*, l. vi, *Paides*, *Illyria*, p. 126. The *Chaonians* and *Thesprotians* were supposed by the first *Thyrræni* (see *Strabo*, *Paides*, l. vi, *Thesprotians* l. vi, *Illyria* l. vi).

² *Hekataeus*, p. 17, ed. *Strabo*; *Strabo*, vi, p. 126, *Illyria*, *Illyria*, p. 127. In the case of *Thesprotians*, the *Illyrian* and the *Adriatic* were under the same king (p. 127). The name *Thesprotia*, with *Thesprotia*, means

only inhabitants of a continent—of *Thesprotia* (l. vi, p. 127). *Strabo* includes *Illyria* and *Adriaticum* (l. vi, p. 127), and is applied to inhabitants of *Thesprotia* (l. vi, p. 127).

³ *Strabo* is used by the first *Thyrræni* to designate the territory west of *Paides*, by *Strabo*, *Illyria*, l. vi, p. 127.

⁴ *Strabo*, *Illyria*, l. vi, p. 127. *Strabo*, *Illyria*, l. vi, p. 127.

⁵ *Strabo*, vi, p. 126.

which we must accept as a fact without being able to follow it into detail, consists at the same time with the circumstance—that both seem to have been susceptible of Hellenic influences to an unusual degree, and to have been provided, with comparatively little difficulty, with an imperfect Hellenism, like that of the *Siachians* and *Akarnanians*. The Thesprotian conquerors of Thespy passed in this manner into Thesprotian Greeks. The *Amphilochians* who inhabited Argos on the *Amphilochian Gulf* were influenced by the reception of Greeks from *Ambrakia*, though the *Amphilochians* situated without the city still remained barbarous in the time of *Thucydides*:¹ a century afterwards, probably, they would be influenced like the rest by a longer continuance of the same influence—as happened with the *Sikels* in Sicily.

To assign the names and exact boundaries of the different tribes inhabiting Epirus as they stood in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., at the time when the western stream of Grecian colonisation was going on, and when the newly-established *Ambrakians* must have been engaged in colonising or expelling the prior occupants of their valuable site, is out of our power. We have no information prior to *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, and that which they tell us cannot be safely applied to a time either much earlier or much later than their own. That there was great analogy between the inland *Macedonians* and the *Epirotes*, from Mount *Bermius* across the continent to the coast opposite *Korkyra*, in military equipment, in the fashion of raising the *hoplites*, and in speech, we are apprised by a valuable passage of *Strabo*: who further tells us that many of the tribes spoke two different languages²—a fact which at least proves very close intercommunication, if not a double origin and incorporation. Wars or voluntary migrations and new alliances would alter the boundaries and relative situation of the various tribes. And this would be the more easily effected, as all Epirus, even in the fourth century B.C., was parcelled out among an

names,
with the
Macedo-
nians
immediately
to touch the
boundaries.

¹ *Thucyd.* ii. 101.

² *Strabo*, vii. p. 48. In these same regions, under the Turkish government of the present day, such is the mixture and intermingling of Greek, Albanian, Serpentine, Italian, and Wallachian, and

Trakis, that most of the natives feel themselves under the necessity of acquiring two, sometimes three, languages. See Dr. *Grigoriuk*, *Notes sur les Albanais et sur les Grecs*, &c. &c. vii. p. 48.

Kolonian kings were accustomed on their accession to take their coronation-oath, had grown into a considerable town, in the last century before the Roman conquest; while Tokanda, Myrionisi, and Harraon also became known to us at the same period.¹ But the most important step which these kings made towards aggrandisement was the acquisition of the Greek city of Ambrosia, which became the capital of the kingdom of Pyrrhus, and thus gave to him the only site suitable for a concentrated population which the country afforded.

If we follow the coast of Epirus from the entrance of the Ambrakian Gulf northward to the Akrokananian promontory, we shall find it charming, as to Greek coast of Epirus distinguished by Greek colonisation. colonisation. There are none of those extensive maritime plains which the Gulf of Thessalon exhibits on its coast, and which sustained the grandeur of Ephyria and Krionia. Throughout the whole extent, the mountain-region, steep and affording little cultivable soil, approaches near to the sea;² and the level ground, wherever it exists, must be surrounded and possessed (as it is now) by villages on hillsides, always difficult of attack and often impregnable. From hence, and from the neighbourhood of Karyia—here still well situated for traffic with Epirus, and jealous of neighbouring rivals—we may understand why the Greek emigrants omitted this profitable tract, and passed on either northward to the maritime plains of Myria, or westward to Italy. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, there seems to have been no Hellenic settlement between Ambrosia and Apollonia. The harbour called Glykye Limnē, with the neighbouring valley and plain the most considerable in Epirus next to that of Ambrosia, near the junction of the lake and river of Acheloos with the sea, were possessed by the Thesprotian town of Ephyri, situated on a neighbouring eminence; perhaps also in part by the ancient Thesprotian town of Pandana, so partially connected, both in Italy and Epirus, with the river Acheloos.³ And thus the almost

¹ Strabo, *Geogr.* v. 1; Livy, *lib.* 29.

² Thus the description of the geographical features of Epirus in Strabo, *lib. vii.* on Epirus, *Geographica* v. 1, p. 14.

³ See the sketch of this territory in

General Leake's *Travels in the Morea* (London, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 1) for passage from Igoumenitsa through the straits of Lypki and the gulf of Artaion, to the plain of Glykye and the Akrokananian lake and mountains near the sea. Compare also vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 117.

inexpugnable mountains and gorges which mark the course of that Thesprotian river, was situated the considerable peasant community of Sida, which held in dependence many surrounding villages in the lower grounds and in the plain—the counterpart of primitive Epirotic rulers in situation, in character, and in influence, but far superior to them in energetic bravery and endurance. It appears that after the time of Thesprotida, certain Greek settlers must have found admission into the Epirotic towns in this region. For Demodochus' mother Pandola, Baskata, and Kiva, as settlements from Elis, which Philip of Macedon conquered and handed over to his brother-in-law the king of the Molossian Epirus; and Strabo tells us that the name of Khyros had been changed to Kikypus, which appears to imply an accession of new inhabitants.

Both the Chaonians and Thesprotians appear, in the time of Thesprotida, as having no kings: there was a privileged kingly race, but the presiding chief was changed from year to year.

The Molossians, however, had a line of kings, succeeding from father to son, which professed to trace its descent through fifteen generations downward, from Achilleus and Neoptolemos to Thyrrus about the year 400 B.C.: thus forming a line of the great Akhilid race. Admitted, the Molossian king to whom Thesprotida presented himself as a suppliant, appears to have lived in the simplicity of an inland village chief. But Amyntas, his son or grandson, is said to have been educated at Athens, and to have introduced improved social regularly into his native country: while the subsequent kings both imitated the ambition and received the aid of Philip of Macedon, extending their dominions¹ over a large portion of the other Epirota. Even in the time of Skyleas, they covered a large inland territory, though their portion of sea-coast

¹ To the north the present Colindale which are so numerous in the Greek valleys occupied by the Lower Acarnon, the Lower Thesprotia, and their tributaries, it is a well-known disadvantage to the geographer and to be able to apply a single name with absolute certainty.

The number of these other efforts are among many geographical and such much have been unfortunately

misunderstood.

² Demodochus, De Molossia, ch. 1. p. 20 B.; Strabo, vi. p. 204.

³ Skyleas, vi. 10; Demodochus, l. 11; Justin, vii. 5.

That the derivation of Justin is the same as the Thyrrus of Demodochus: perhaps also the name of Thyrrus in Strabo, who was a place at the beginning of the Thesprotian territory.

was confined. From the narrative of Thucydides, we gather that all the Epirote, though held together by no political union, were yet willing enough to combine for purposes of aggression and plunder. The Chaonians enjoyed a higher military reputation than the rest. But the account which Thucydides gives of their expedition against Akarnania exhibits a bitted, reckless, headstuck impetuosity, which contrasts strikingly with the methodical and orderly march of their Greek allies and companions.¹

To collect the few particulars known, respecting these ruder communities adjacent to Greece, is a task indispensable for the just comprehension of the Grecian world, and for the appreciation of the Greeks themselves by comparison or contrast with their contemporaries. Indispensable as it is, however, it can hardly be rendered in itself interesting to the reader, whose patience I have to bespeak by assuring him that the facts hereafter to be recounted of Grecian history would be only half understood without this preliminary survey of the lands around.

¹ Thucyd. 2. 101.

bodies and of offering human sacrifices: moreover, they were always ready to sell their military service for hire, like the modern Albanian Schkipetars, in whom probably their blood yet flows, though with considerable admixture from subsequent immigrations. Of the Illyrian Kingdom on the Adriatic coast, with Eudora (Durrës) for its capital city, which became formidable by its reckless piracy in the third century B.C., we hear nothing in the flourishing period of Grecian history. The description of Skyles notices in his day, all along the northern Adriatic, a considerable and standing traffic between the coast and the interior, carried on by Labruntians, Istrians, and the small Grecian insular settlements of Pharos and Issa. But he does not name Eudora, and probably this strong post (together with the Greek town, Liburnia, founded by Diogenes of Syracuse) was occupied after his time by conquerors from the interior; the predecessors of Agria and Denton, just as the coastland of the Thermaic Gulf was conquered by inland Macedonians.

Once during the Peloponnesian war, a detachment of hired Illyrians, marching into Macedonia Lychnitis (scarcely over the pine of Skarida a little east of Lychnitis or Ochrida), took the valour of the Syracusan Brasidas. On that occasion (as in the expedition above alluded to of the Epircæ against Akarnania) we shall notice the marked superiority of the Grecian character, even in the case of an armament chiefly composed of helots newly enfranchised, over both Macedonians and Illyrians. We shall see the contrast between mere men acting in concert and obedience to a common authority, and an unending host of warriors, not less brave individually, but in which every man is his own master,¹ and fights as he pleases.

On the
east
of
Lychnitis
with
Greece.

and to survey the shores of the Ionian archipelago, in the course of which they discovered that some of the islands which were then considered as free, and yet were subject to the Persian empire, and that the Persian empire itself was without proper justice and authority over the free islands which it claimed. The result was the union of Epircæ and Ionian Africa, and the establishment of a new power in the East. In the course of the war, the Persians were not without success in their efforts, and in the end they were able to recover the islands of the Ionian archipelago, and to restore the Persian empire to its former extent.

12, p. 100. These two African tribes were the most important of the kind in the East, and were the most powerful of the kind in the East. They were the most powerful of the kind in the East, and were the most powerful of the kind in the East. They were the most powerful of the kind in the East, and were the most powerful of the kind in the East.

2. The first of these tribes, the Lychnitis, was the most powerful of the kind in the East, and was the most powerful of the kind in the East. They were the most powerful of the kind in the East, and were the most powerful of the kind in the East. They were the most powerful of the kind in the East, and were the most powerful of the kind in the East.

3. The second of these tribes, the Epircæ, was the most powerful of the kind in the East, and was the most powerful of the kind in the East. They were the most powerful of the kind in the East, and were the most powerful of the kind in the East. They were the most powerful of the kind in the East, and were the most powerful of the kind in the East.

The rapid and impetuous rush of the Hittians, if the first shock failed of its effect, was succeeded by an equally rapid retreat or flight. We hear nothing afterwards respecting these barbarians until the time of Philip of Macedon, whose ingenuity and military energy first reappeared their haunts and afterwards partially conquered them. It seems to have been about this period (400—350 B.C.) that the great movement of the Gauls from west to east took place, which brought the Gallic Keltæ and other tribes into the regions between the Danube and the Adriatic Sea, and which probably dislodged some of the northern Hittians as well as to drive them upon new enterprises and fresh expeditions.

What is now called Malis Africa, the Hittian territory immediately north of Egypt, is much superior to the latter in productivity.¹ Though mountainous, it possesses more both of low land and valley, and arable as well as more fertile uncultivable spaces. Ephyraeans and Apolloniae formed the nucleus of this territory. To them succeeded with the southern Hittians, less barbarous than the northern, was one of the sources² of great prosperity during the first century of their existence—a prosperity interrupted in the case of the Ephyraeans by internal dissensions, which required their sanctuary over their Hittian neighbours, and ultimately placed them at variance with their mother-city Naucratis. The commerce between these Greek seaports and the interior tribes, when once the Greeks became strong enough to render violent attack from the latter hopeless, was reciprocally beneficial to both of them. Grapes and wine were introduced among these barbarians, whose chiefs at the same time learnt to appreciate the woven fabric;³ the polished and carved metallic work, the temporal weapons, and the pottery, which issued from Greek artisans. Moreover the importation sometimes of salt-fish, and always that of salt itself, was of the greatest importance to these inland residents, especially for such localities as possessed

¹ See Prosperity, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37; *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37; *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37; *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37.

² *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37.

³ *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37.

⁴ *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37; *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37; *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37; *Égypte*, *Formes de l'Égypte*, vol. I, p. 35 and 37.

in the Adriatic, through the internal wars of one tribe with another. Silver mines were worked at *Damastion* in Illyria. Wax and honey were probably also articles of export, and it is a proof that the natural products of Illyria were carefully sought out, when we find a species of lute peculiar to the country collected and sent to *Gomath*, where the root was employed to give the special flavour to a celebrated kind of aromatic ointment.¹

The intercourse between the Hellenic ports and the Illyrian island was not exclusively commercial. Greek cities also found their way into Illyria, and Greek myths became localised there, as may be seen by the tale of *Euboea* and *Harmonia*, from whom the chiefs of the Illyrian *Boothai* professed to trace their descent.²

The Macedonians of the fourth century B.C. acquired, from the early wars, ability and enterprise of two successive kings, a great refinement, perfection in Greek military organisation without any of the softer Hellenic qualities. Their career in Greece is purely destructive, extinguishing the free movement of the separate cities, and dissuading the citizen-soldier to make room for the foreign mercenary whose sword was unhindered by any feelings of patriotism—but totally incompetent to substitute any good system of central or public administration. But the Macedonians of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. are an aggregate only of rude island tribes, subordinated into distinct petty principalities, and separated from the Greeks by a wider ethnical difference even than the *Epeiroi*; since *Herodotus*, who considers the *Epeiroi* Hellenians and Thesprotians as children of *Hellas*, decidedly thinks the contrary respecting the Macedonians.³ In the main, however, they seem at this early period analogous to the *Epeiroi* in character and civilization. They had some few towns, but they were chiefly village residents, extremely brave and pugnacious: the customs of some of their tribes imposed

¹ *Thucydides*, *Hist. Pelop.* iv. 8, 1; iv. 5, 1; *Plut.* ii. 28, 20, 1; xvi. 32, 2. *Strabo*, viii. p. 467. *Cities of Epidaurum and Argos*, are found not only in Macedonia, but in Thessaly and in Italy: the trade of these two cities probably extended across from sea to sea, even before the conclusion of the Persian war; and the inscription found in the *Copax* of Boeotia preserves the great-

ness of *Odysseus* (*Ulysses*) in the *Epheir* Sea towards a citizen of Epidaurum (*Strabo*, *Geographicon Macedon.* viii. p. 47; *Antiq. Mon.* *Argos* i. 101).

² *Herodot.* i. 91; viii. 137. *Strabo*, viii. p. 478. *Plutarch* traces the tale of *Hellas* and *Harmonia* among the *Illyrian* *Boothai*, north of the *Boothian* *Gulfus* viii. 42; *Thucyd.* ii. 3, 13.

³ *Herodot.* i. 91.

The inhabitants of this primitive Macedonia doubtless differed much in ancient times, as they do now, according as they dwell on mountains or plains, and in soil and climate more or less kind. But all acknowledged a common ethnic name and nationality, and the tribes were in many cases distinguished from each other, not by having substantive names of their own, but merely by local epithets of Greek origin. Thus we find Elysiote Macedonians or Macedonians of Elyria—Lychnian Macedonians or Macedonians of Lychnus, &c. *Getae* is doubtless an adjacent name of the same character. The inhabitants of the more northerly tracts, called Pelagians and Decephas, were also portions of the Macedonian aggregate, though neighbours of the Froniotes, to whom they bore much affinity: whether the Frons and Abaspirae were of Macedonian race, it is more difficult to say. The Macedonian language was different from Illyrian,¹ from Thracian, and seemingly also from Paeonian; it was also different from Greek, yet apparently not more widely distant than that of the Epirotes; so that the acquisition of Greek was comparatively easy to the chiefs and people, though there were always some Greek letters which they were incapable of pronouncing. And when we follow their history, we shall find in them more of the regular warrior conquering in order to maintain dominion and tribute, and less of the armed plougher, than the Elyrians, Thracians, or Epirotes, by whom it was their misfortune to be surrounded. They approach nearer to the Thracians,² and to the other ungraced members of the Hellenic family.

The large and comparatively productive region covered by the various nations of Macedonia helps to explain that increase of wealth which they successfully acquired over all their

hills adjoining, even to great cities and fertile plains.

This is probably true of the mountains situated in the region, but it is too much generalised.

¹ Porph. *l. c.* § 4. This is the most distinct testimony which we possess, and it appears to me to demand the explicit birth of Macedonians, the *Ac.* and *Illyr.* *op. cit.* p. 455, and of G. Schlegel the Macedonians, and Strabo, that the name Macedonians were of Illyrian descent.

² The Macedonian officers were known to have been very like that of the Thracians—barbarous, well equipped and armed and maintaining good order (Thucyd. 2. 102). At their history, however, the time of Philip son of Amyntas, we do not go back.

³ Macedonia, the Greek historians put their attention, as ancient Macedonia was not yet known, then beyond the mountains, and the Macedonians were not yet known. (Thucyd. 2. 102.)

neighbours. It was not however until a late period that they became united under one government. At first, each nation—how many we do not know—had its own prince or chief. The Elymnæ or inhabitants of Elymnæ, the southernmost portion of Macedonia, were then originally distinct and independent; also the Oesoni, in mountain seats somewhat north-west of the Elymnæ—the Lychnidæ and Eordi, who occupied portions of territory on the flank of the subsequent Egean way, between Lychnidæ (Ochrida) and Edessa—the Pelagopontæ,¹ with a town of the same name, in the fertile plain of Triclia—and the more northerly Descripiæ. And the early political union was usually so loose, that each of these denominations probably included many petty independencies, small towns, and villages.

The nation of the Macedonians, some who afterwards swallowed up all the rest and became known as the *Macedoniæ*, had their original centre at Edessa or Edmon—the lofty, commanding, and picturesque site of the modern Veleska. And though the residence

of the kings was in later times transferred to the marshy Pella, in the maritime plain beneath, yet Edmon was always retained as the royal burial place, and as the hearth to which the religious sanctity of the nation (so much revered in ancient times) was attached. This ancient town, which lay on the Roman Egean way from Lychnidæ to Pella and Thessalonica, formed the pass over the mountain-ridge called Barmia, or that prolongation to the north-west of Mount Olympus, through which the Hæthumæ makes its way out into the maritime plain at Varna, by a defile more precipitous and impassable than that of the Passus to the delta of Danub.

This mountain-chain called Barmia, extending from Olympus considerably to the north of Edmon, formed the original eastern boundary of the Macedonian tribes; who seem at first not to have reached the valley of the Arda in any part of its course, and who certainly did not reach at first to the Thracian Gulf. Between the last-mentioned gulf and the eastern counterforts of Olympus and Barmia there exists a narrow strip of plain land or low hill which reaches from the

Edmon.
Edmon—
the leading
portion of
the nation.

Edmon.
Edmon—
originally
situated
on the
Thracian
Gulf.
Between
the above
defile
and the sea.

¹ *Herod.* lib. vii. Page 39, ed. Tait.

of its course, began the tribes of the great Thracian race—Mygdonians, Encheontians, Eliconians, Bœotians, Echinians: the Mygdonians seem to have been originally the most powerful, since the country still continued to be called by their name, Mygdonia, even after the Macedonian conquest. These, and various other Thracian tribes, originally occupied most part of the country between the mouth of the Axios and that of the Strymon; together with that memorable three-pronged peninsula which derived from the Greeks colonies its name of Chalkidiki. It will thus appear, if we consider the Bœotians as well as the Parians to be Thracians, that the Thracian race extended originally westward as far as the mouth of the Peneus: the Bœotians professed indeed a Kresan origin, but this pretension is not noticed by either Herodotus or Thucydides. In the time of Skyllax,¹ seemingly during the early reign of Philip the son of Amyntas, Macedonia and Thracia were separated by the Strymon.

We have yet to mention the Pæonians, a numerous and much-divided race, seemingly neither Thracian nor Macedonian nor Illyrian, but professing to be descended from the Trojans of Troy. These Pæonians occupied both banks of the Strymon, from the neighbourhood of Mount Rhodope, in which that river rises,² down to the lake near its mouth: some of their tribes possessed the fertile plain of Seris (now Serræ)—the land immediately north of Mount Pangæus—and even a portion of the spot through which Xerxes marched on his route from Abdera to Therma. Besides this, it appears that the upper parts of the valley of the Axios were also occupied by Pæonian tribes; how far down the river they extended we are unable to say. We are not to suppose that the whole territory between Axios and Strymon was continuously peopled by them. Continuous population is not the character of the ancient world, and it seems moreover that while the land immediately bordering on both rivers is in very many places of the richest quality, the spaces between the two are either mountain or barren low hill—

¹ Skyllax, s. 27. The conquests of Philip subdued the Illyrians beyond the Strymon to the Peneus (Strabo, lib. vii. c. 6; Ptolemy, lib. vi. c. 14).

² Mount Rhodope seems to be the

mountain now called Thassitis, between Eubœa and Bulgaria, near the much ancient city of Xerxes (Strabo, lib. vii. c. 14; Ptolemy, lib. vi. c. 14).

rise of a river, immediately after he had crossed it, so as to become impossible by the barmen who pursued him; to this river, as in the mouth of the flood, solemn sacrifices were still offered by the kings of Macedonia in the time of Alexander. Perdikkas with his two brothers, having thus escaped, established himself near the spot called the Garden of Males on Mount Boreia. From the loins of this hardy young shepherd sprang the dynasty of Edessa.¹ This tale bears much more the marks of a genuine local tradition than that of Thespius; and the origin of the Macedonian family, or Argæus, from Argæ, appears to have been universally recognised by Greek inquiries,² so that Alexander the son of Argæus, the contemporary of the Persian invasion, was admitted by the Hellenists to contend at the Olympic games as a genuine Greek, though his competitors sought to exclude him as a Macedonian.

The talent for command was so much more the attribute of the Greek mind than of any of the neighbouring barbarians, that we easily conceive a vigorous Argæan adventurer acquiring to himself great ascendancy in the local despots of the Macedonian tribes, and transmitting the chiefdom of one of these tribes to his offspring. The influence acquired by Mithridates among the Thracians of the Chersonese, and by Pharnaces among the Abasarians (who specially requested that after his death his son or some one of his kindred might be sent from Athens to command them³), was very much of this character. We may add the case of Bercius among the native Iberians. In like manner, the kings of the Macedonian Lynkestæ professed to be descended from the Bantides⁴ of Corinth; and the neighbourhood of Epilœmus and Apollœus, in both of which districts members of that great gens were domiciliated, renders this tale even more plausible than that of an emigration from Argæ. The kings of the Epirus Molossæ pretended also to a descent from the heroic Hælidæ men of Greece. In fact, our means of knowledge do not enable us to discriminate

¹ Thucyd. viii. 105, 106.

² Herodot. v. 62. Argæus, Herodot. viii. 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

³ Thucyd. iii. 7; Herodot. vi. 64-67.

⁴ Compare the story of Salomon among the Thessalians (ii. 10).

⁵ Herodot. vi. p. 308.

the cases in which these reigning families were originally Greek, from those in which they were Hellenised natives pretending to Greek blood.

After the foundation-legend of the Macedonian kingdom, we have nothing but a long blank until the reign of king Amyntas (about 550—500 B.C.), and his son Alexander (about 480 B.C.). Herodotus gives us five successive kings between the founder Perdikas and Amyntas—Perdikas, Argæus, Philippos, Amphiaraus, and Alexander—the contemporary and to a certain extent the ally of Xerxes.¹ Though we have no means of establishing any dates in this early series, either of names or of facts, yet we see that the Temeraid kings, beginning from a noble origin, extended their dominions successively on all sides. They conquered the Bregas,² originally their neighbours on Mount Boreas—the Eordæ, bordering on Edessa to the westward, who were either destroyed or expelled from the country (a small remnant of them still existed in the time of Theophrastus at Pylæa between Boryraë and Aris)³—the Almæpiæ, an inland tribe of unknown size—and many of the interior Macedonian tribes who had been at first autonomous. Besides these inland conquests, they had made the still more important acquisition of Pædia (the territory which lay between Mount Boreas and the sea), from whence they expelled the original Pædiæans, who found new seats on the eastern bank of the Boryraë between Mount Pangæus and the sea. Amyntas king of Macedonia was thus master of a very considerable territory, comprising the coast of the Thermaic Gulf as far north as the mouth of the Haliakmon, and also some other territory on the same gulf from which the Bottæans had been expelled; but not comprising the coast between the mouths of the Aris and the Haliakmon, nor even Pella the subsequent capital, which were still in the hands of the Bottæans at the period when Xerxes passed through.⁴ He possessed also

Agæus—the
son of the
dynasty of
Edessa—
conquered
from the
Thermaid
tribe, as
well as over
the interior
tribes.
Herodotus.

¹ Herodotus, viii. 138. Theophrastus agrees in the number of kings, but does not give the names (ii. 20).

² The Bregas is the name of the early Macedonian capital, see Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hæbæi*, vol. i. p. 130.

³ This may be gathered, I think,

from Herodotus, vii. 72 and viii. 134. The alleged migration of the Bregas tribe into Asia, and the change of their name to Pædiæans, is a tradition which I do not venture to receive as credible.

⁴ Herodotus, viii. 134. Theophrastus mentions both Bottæans before

Asiaticus, a town and territory in the peninsula of Chalcidice, and some parts of Mygdonia, the territory east of the mouth of the Axios; but how much, we do not know. We shall find the Macedonians hereafter extending their dominion still further, during the period between the Persian and Ptolemaean wars.

We hear of king Amyntas in friendly connexion with the Ptolemaic person at Athens, whose dominion was in part captured by mercenaries from the Barysae;¹ and this account is confirmed between his son Alexander and the usurper Antipater.² It is only in the reign of these two persons that Macedonia begins to be implicated in Grecian affairs. The royal dynasty had become so completely Macedonian, and had so far renounced its Hellenic brotherhood, that the claim of Alexander to run at the Olympic games was contested by his competitors, who compelled him to prove his lineage before the Hellenes.

The Aetoi and the Peloponnesians, and perhaps to Athens, while the Macedonians had expelled from the Thracian coast, in the time when Xerxes passed (see 181). These two accounts seem to be incompatible, and both contradict the account

that was supplied by the Hellenes themselves, and by the Ptolemaean war.

¹ No one of these facts, therefore, seems to be confirmed by the account of the Hellenes.

² See the account of the Hellenes.

CHAPTER XXVI

ETHANOL, AND OTHER POLYESTERS IN ETHANOL

That vast space comprised between the shores of the Aegean and the Hellespont, and bounded to the west by the easternmost Thracian Chersonese, northward of the Bosphorus, was occupied by the innumerable subdivisions of the race, ^{the Thracians} called Thracians or Thracians. They were the most numerous and most terrible race known to Herodotus; could they by possibility act in unison, or under one dominion (he says) they would be invincible. A suggestion thus formidable once occurred to Darius, during the first years of the Peloponnesian war, under the reign of Sitalces king of the Odrysae, who requested from Xerxes at the mouth of the Danube to the Bosphorus, and proposed under his sceptre a large proportion of these Thracians and warlike plainbears; so that the Greeks even down to Themistocles trembled at his reported approach. But the ambition of that prince was not found adequate to bring the whole force of Thracians into active co-operation and movement against others.

Numerous as the tribes of Turanians were, their customs and character (according to Herodotus) were marked by great uniformity: of the Getae, the Thracians, and others, he tells us a few particulars. And the large tract over which the men were spread, comprising as it did the whole chain of Mount Caucasus and the still loftier chain of Hindoo, together with a portion of the mountainous Obdian and

In this picture of January 1940—five years after the end of slavery, the Negro, and the Negro too—had been his victim by nature, he was not in his present state of mind. He was not in his present state of mind. He was not in his present state of mind.

and the transportation data collected by the Department in a report made to the House. These reports have been analyzed by Congress in the proceedings of the new House of Representatives, and published there. The Department's own list of the names of the persons who

manifested itself in the Thracians by increased docility in shedding blood; but as warriors, the only occupation which they esteemed, they were not less brave than patient of hardship; maintaining a good front, under their own peculiar array, against Rome much superior in all military efficacy.¹ It appears that the Thracians and Dacians,² on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, perhaps also the Mysians, were members of this great Thracian race, which was more remotely connected also with the Phrygians. And the whole race may be said to Thracian present a character more Asiatic than European, especially in those ecstatic and maddening religious rites, which prevailed not less among the Edessene Thracians than in the mountains of life and Dardanus of Asia, though with some important differences. The Thracians served to furnish the Greeks with necessary troops and slaves, and the number of Grecian colonies planted on the coast had the effect of partially softening the tribes in the immediate vicinity, between whose raids and the Greek leaders intermarriages were not unfrequent. But the tribes in the interior seem to have retained their savage habits with little mitigation; so that the language in which Tacitus³ describes them is an apt continuation to that of Herodotus, though coming more than five centuries after.

To note the situation of each one among these many different tribes, in the large territory of Thrace, which is even now imperfectly known and badly mapped, would be unnecessary and indeed impracticable. I shall proceed to mention the principal Grecian colonies which were formed in the country, touching occasionally the particular Thracian tribes with which they came in contact.

The Grecian colonies established on the Thracian Gulf, as well as in the peninsula of Chalkidiki—emanating principally from Clazis and Eretria, though we do not know their precise epoch—appear to have been of early date, and probably preceded the time when the

early date of the Chalcidic colonies in Thrace.

¹ For the Thracians generally, see Herodotus, I. 17-20, vi. 124, vii. 124, ix. 124; Thucyd. II. 101, vi. 29, vii. 57; Strabo, Asia, vi. 1. 26, and the seventh book of the *Agathenglossa*, which describes the manners of

Thracians and the Ten Thousand Greeks who settled the Thracian peninsula.

² Joseph. Antiq. v. 1. 17; Herodotus, vi. 29.

³ Tacit. Annal. II. 61; I. 49.

Macedonians of Elassa extended their conquest to the sea. At that early period they would find the Thracian wall between the Paeonian and Elassaëns—also a number of petty Thracian tribes throughout the broad part of the Chalkidic peninsula; they would find Pydna a Thracian town, and Thessia, Anthemone, Chalcidura, &c., Mysian towns.

The most ancient Greek colony in these regions seems to have been Misthiol, founded by the Eretrians in Paeonia: ^{the earliest} ^{known} ^{date} nearly at the same time (if we may trust a statement of rather suspicious character, though the date itself is nearly impossible) as Korkyra was settled by the Corinthians (about 700—720 B.C.). It was a little to the north of the Thracian town of Pydna, and separated by about ten miles from the Paeonian town of Aithra, which lay north of the Halikmaia.¹ We know very little about Misthiol, except that it preserved its autonomy and its Hellenism until the time of Philip of Macedon, who took and destroyed it. But though, when once established, it was strong enough to maintain itself in spite of conquest made all around by the Macedonians of Elassa, we may fairly presume that it could not have been originally planned on Macedonian territory. Nor in point of fact was the situation peculiarly advantageous for Greek colonies, inasmuch as there were other maritime towns, not Greek, in its neighbourhood—Pydna, Aithra, Thessia, Chalcidura; whereas the point of advantage for a Greek colony was, to between the colonies, support for island Hellenic people.

The colonies, founded by Chalkis and Eretria on all the three projections of the Chalkidic peninsula, were numerous, though for a long time inconsiderable. We do not know how far these projecting headlands were occupied before the arrival of the settlers from Elassa. But after their arrival we may probably place at some period earlier than 600 B.C. For after that period Chalkis and Eretria seem rather on the decline; and it appears too that the Chalkidian colonies in Thessia aided their mother-city Chalkis in her war against Eretria, which cannot be much later than 600 B.C., though it may be considerably earlier.

The range of mountains which crosses from the Thessalia to

¹ *Perieris*, *quest. thess.* p. 102.

² *Mytilis*, i. 45.

the Bryansville Gulf and faces the northern limit of the Chalkylik peninsula, slopes down towards the northern extremity, so as to leave a considerable tract of fertile land between the Tortugas and the Thronos Gulf, including the fertile headland called Palladi¹—the vestigium of those three prongs of Chalkylik which run out into the *Ægean*. Of the other two prongs or projections, the easternmost is terminated by the sublime Mount Allen, which runs out of the sea as a precipitous rock 6000 feet in height, connected with the mainland by a ridge not more than half the height of the mountain itself, yet still high, rugged, and windy from sea to sea, leaving only little occasional spaces fit to be occupied or cultivated. The intermediate or *Siberian* headland is also hilly and windy, though in a less degree—both less inviting and less productive than Palladi².

Then, near that cape which marks the entrance of the inner Thronos Gulf—and Potamos, at the narrow isthmus of Palladi—was both founded by Corais. Between these two towns lay the fertile territory called Krana or Kromos, forming in aftertimes a part of the domain of Olynthus, but in the sixth century B.C. occupied by petty Thracian tyrants.³ Within Palladi were the towns of Mouda, a colony from Eretria—Ekked⁴, which, having no legitimate mother-city, traced its origin to Palladian warriors returning from Troy—Aphyta, Barypho, Nigi, Thronobla, and Soud⁵, either wholly or partly colonists from Eretria. In the *Siberian* peninsula were Ama, Polira, Sigea, Bardi, Torke⁶, Gallipara, Seneay⁷, and Nikipharos: all or most of these seem to have been of Chalkylik origin.

But at the head of the Tortugas Gulf (which lies between *Siberia* and Palladi) was placed Olynthus, surrounded by an extensive and fertile plain. Originally a Boeotian town, Olynthus will be seen at the time of the Persian invasion to pass into the hands of

Calchedon in
Palladi, or
the vestigium
of the three head-
lands.

Siberia,
or the
middle
headland.

¹ For the description of Chalkylik, see *Strabo's Geography*, vol. 2, pp. 12, pp. 6-8, and *Leake's Travels in Greece*, 4th Edition, vol. 1, pp. 12, p. 131.

² As we find *Chalkylik* the name of Chalkylik in Greek, by which in 457, we shall see that he did not believe it to be Hellenicized, but an

Ionian name, as in the peninsula of Palladi, with Potamos at its extremity.

³ Herodotus, vol. 1, p. 131; *Strabo's Geography*, 2, 122.

⁴ Herodotus, 2, p. 127; Thucyd. 2, 129-130; *Strabo's Geography*, 2, 12; *Strabo's Geography*, 2, 122.

the Chalkidian Greeks,¹ and gradually to incorporate with itself several of the petty neighbouring establishments belonging to that race; whereby the Chalkidians acquired that marked preponderance in the persons which they retained, even against the efforts of Athens, until the days of Philip of Macedon.

On the empty spaces, admitted by the numerous promiscuity or ridge ending in Athos, were planted some Thracian and some

Pełagie settlements of the same individuals as those who occupied Edmaea and Iudaea; a few Chalkidic citizens being domiciliated with them, and the people speaking both Pełagie and Hellenic. But near the narrow isthmus which joins this promontory to Thracian, and along the north-western coast of the Borystean Gulf, were Orman towns of considerable importance—Suaia, Abantia, Singara, and Argilus, all colonies from Andros, which had itself been colonised from Keos.² Abantia and Singara are said to have been founded in 454 B.C.

Following the western coast of Thracian, from the mouth of the river Strymon towards the east, we may doubt whether, in the year 503 B.C., any considerable independent colonies of Greeks had yet been formed upon it. The Ionic colony of Abdera, eastward of the mouth of the river Nestos, formed from Teia in Ionia, is of more recent date, though the Klesomerians³ had begun an unsuccessful settlement there as early as the year 553 B.C.; while Ekeia—the Chian settlement of Maronea—and the Lesbian settlement of Rhos at the mouth of the Hebros—are of unknown date.⁴

The important and valuable territory near the mouth of the Strymon, where, after many ruinous failures,⁵ the Athenian colony of Amphipolis afterwards maintained itself, was at the date here mentioned possessed by Edonian Thracians and Persians. The various Thracian tribes—Brea, Eliciana, Derisiana, Sapreia, Ristona, Eikona, Peltana, &c.—were in

Greek
settlements
east of the
Strymon
in Thracian.

¹ Herodotus, vii. 127, 128, 129, 130; Stephanus Byz. s. v. Chalkidai; given in some MSS. of the version of the last Greek writers, Strabo and Thucydides about Pelopon.

² Herodotus, ix. 26, 122, 123, 124, 125; Olynthi Fugio, Herodotus, ad 123, 124, 125.

³ Herodotus, ii. 101.

⁴ Herodotus, i. 101; vii. 127–128, 129; Strabo, vii. 1, 101.

⁵ Thucydides, i. 104, 105, 106; Herodotus, vi. 11. Large quantities of arms were sent from this territory to the Peloponnesus; Herodotus, vii. 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132.

form on the principal part of the tract between Strymon and Hæmus, near to the sea-coast. It is to be remarked however that the island of Thasos, and that of Samothrace, each possessed what the Greek was called a *Pennis*—a strip of the adjoining mainland cultivated and defended by means of fortified posts or small towns. Probably these occupations are of very ancient date, since they seem almost indispensable as a means of support to the islands. For the barren Thasos, especially, needs even at this day the coasting description applied to it by ^{Herodotus} the poet Archilochus, in the seventh century B.C.—Thasos "as an oak's backbone, overgrown with wild wood";¹ so wholly is it composed of mountain naked or wooded, and so scanty are the patches of cultivable soil left to it, nearly all close to the seashore.

This island was originally occupied by the Phœnicians, who worked the gold-mines in its mountains with a degree of industry, which, even to this remains, created the admiration of Herodotus. How and when it was evacuated by them, we do not know. But the poet Archilochus² turned one of a body of Parian colonists who planted themselves on it in the seventh century B.C., and carried on war, not always successful, against the Thracian tribe called Salmæ: on one occasion, Archilochus found himself compelled to throw away his shield. By their mines and their possessions on the mainland (which contained even richer mines, at Skopid Hyll, and elsewhere, than those in the island), the Thasian Greeks rose to considerable power and population. And as they seem to have been the only Greeks, until the settlement of the Milesian Milesians on the Strymon about 600 B.C., who actively concerned themselves in the mining districts of Thrace

¹ Herodot. vii. 138—139; Theophr. l. 124.

² "My shield I cast away forgoe
To save my life, when fighting Salmæ."
Archiloch. Fragm. 124, ed. Boeckh.
delebat.

The striking simplicity of this description, even when the name of this poem, may be seen in the *Tragedy of Archilochus*, vol. I. ch. V. p. 124—125, and in *Prolegomena, Deinde, deinde, deinde* (see Orelli, Th. S. p. 124). The classical Thasos from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century is described in the title "Thasos (Thasos) ap. Boeckh. Fragm. Boeckh. ed. p. 124, Boeckh. l. 124, Boeckh.

Thasos (now Thasos) contains at present a population of about 5000 persons, dispersed in some small villages; it supports some good olive-trees, principally in, of which there is abundance on the island, together with some cereals and with, but in consequence there is not enough room for the small population. Its mines either are now, or have been for a long time, in ruin.

² Archiloch. Fragm. 124, ed. Boeckh. deinde, deinde, deinde. Fragm. 124, with the Thasian Thasos, l. p. 124, ed. p. 124; Theophr. l. 124.

opposed to their island, we cannot be surprised to hear that their share surplus revenue before the Persian conquest, about 460 B.C., after deducting the charges of their government without any taxation, amounted to the large sum of 300 talents, sometimes even to 350 talents, in each year (440,000—408,000).

On the long peninsula called the Thracian Chersonese there may probably have been small Greek settlements at an early date, though we do not know at what time either the Hellespontine settlement of Kardia, on the western side of the isthmus of that peninsula, near the *Ægean Sea*—or the Æolic colony of Sestos on the Hellespont—was founded. The Athenian ascendancy in the peninsula begins only with the migration of the first Mithridates, during the reign of Peisistratus at Athens. The Samian colony of Pericles,¹ on the

Thracian
Chersonese.
Sestos.

Pericles,
Samian,
and Hecate-
um.

northern coast of the Propontis,² is spoken of as ancient in date, and the Megarian colonies, Solymbria and Hyantion, belong to the seventh century B.C.: the latter of these two is assigned to the 80th Olympiad (397 B.C.), and its neighbour Chalkidion, on the opposite coast, was a few years earlier. The site of Hyantion in the narrow straits of the Bosphorus, with its abundant tinny-fishery,³ which both employed and nourished a large proportion of the poorer freemen, was also convenient either for maritime traffic or for laying contributions on the numerous ware-shops which passed from the Euxine into the *Ægean*. We are even told that it held a considerable number of the neighbouring Bithynian Thracians as tributary Perioeci. Such dominion, though probably maintained during the more vigorous period of Greek city life, became in later times impracticable, and we even find the Hyantines not always competent to the defence of their own small surrounding territory. The place, however, will be found to possess considerable importance during all the period of this history.⁴

The Greek settlements on the inhospitable north-western coast of the Euxine, south of the Danube, appear never to have attained any consideration: the principal traffic of Greek

¹ Herodotus, *Chron.* 226-227; *Plutarch, Quæst. Græc.* 4. 27. See M. Barth Niebuhr, *Historia des Olympos* (Göttingen, 18. 1810), vol. 10.

² 75-766.
³ *Arrian, Periplus* 10. 4. 1.

⁴ *Strabo*, 11. 10; *Plutarch, Fragm. Græcorum*, vol. 10.

CHAPTER XXVII.

KYNÉH AND BARNA.—HESPERIDES.

It has been already mentioned in a former chapter that Ptolemaeus king of Egypt, about the middle of the seventh century B.C., first removed those prohibitions which had excluded Greek commerce from the country. In his reign, Greek mercenaries were first established in Egypt, and Greeks traders admitted, under certain regulations, into the Nile. The opening of the ^{mouth of the Nile} new market emboldened them to traverse the direct sea, which separates Libya from Egypt—a dangerous voyage with vessels which rarely ventured to lose sight of land—and seems to have first made them acquainted with the neighbouring coast of Libya, between the Nile and the gulf called the Great Syrtis. Hence arose the foundation of the important colony called Kynéh.

As in the case of most other Greek colonies, so in that of Kynéh, both the foundation and the early history are very imperfectly known. The date of the event, as far as can be made out amidst much contradiction of statement, was about 550 B.C.¹ There was the mother-city, herself a colony from Lacedæmon;² and the settlements formed in Libya became an inconsiderable ornament to the Dorian name in Hellas.

According to the account of a late historian, Mantikar³—^{founder of Kynéh} political dissension among the inhabitants of Thaps⁴ led to that emigration which founded Kynéh. The more simple legendary details which Herodotus collected, partly from Thersos, partly from Kynæan informants, are not

¹ Thus the foundation of the city of Kynéh in Thaps, Mantikar's opinion, B.C. 55, 54, 53, where the different

statements are noticed and compared.

² Called at Thaps. Ptole. lvi. 10.

positively inconsistent with this statement, though they indicate more particularly bad seasons, distress, and over-population. But both of them dwell emphatically on the Delphian oracle as the instigator as well as the director of the first emigration, whose apprehensions of a dangerous voyage and an unknown country were very difficult to overcome. Both of them affirmed that the original settler Battus was selected and consecrated to the work by the divine command: both called Battus the son of Polyorchus, of the mythical breed called Minys. But on other points there was complete divergence between the two stories, and the Syracuseans themselves, whose town was partly peopled by emigrants from Kroton, described the mother of Battus as daughter of Etearchus, prince of the Kroton town of Asia.¹ Battus had an impediment in his speech, and it was on his entreating from the Delphian oracle a cure for this infirmity that he received directions to go as "a cattle-breeding settler to Libya." The suffering Theronians were directed to assist him. But neither he nor they knew where Libya was, nor could they find any resident in Kroton who had ever visited it. Such was the limited reach of Grecian navigation to the south of the African Sea, even a century after the foundation of Syracuse. At length, by prolonged inquiry, they discovered a man employed in catching the purple shellfish, named Eorchius, who said that he had been once forced by stress of weather to the island of Platia, close on the shores of Libya, and on the side not far removed from the western coast of Egypt. Since Theronians being sent along with Eorchius to inspect the island, left him there with a stock of provisions, and returned to Thira to conduct the emigrants. From the seven districts into which Thira was divided, emigrants were drafted for the colony, one brother being singled out from the different numerous families by lot. But so long was their return to Platia deferred, that the provisions of Eorchius were exhausted, and he was only saved from starvation by the accidental arrival of a Samian ship, driven by contrary winds out of her course on the voyage to Egypt. Eolares, the master of this ship (whose immense profits made by the first voyage to Tartessus have been noticed in a former

pointed
to derive
from this
land of
them.

¹ Herodotus, iv. 156—164.
2—17

chapter), supplied him with provisions for a year—as an act of kindness which is said to have laid the first foundation of the alliance and good feeling afterwards prevalent between Thina, Kyrtol, and Hama. Although the expected conquests enriched the island, having found the voyage so perilous and difficult, that they at once returned in despair to Thina, where they were only prevented by force from re-embarking. The land which accompanied Baitas was all covered in two post-holders—armed ships with fifty rowers each. Thus hostile was the start of the mighty Kyrtol, which, in the days of Herodotus, covered a city-area equal to the entire island of Plata.¹

That island, however, though near to Libya, and supposed by the colonists to be Libya, was not so in reality: the commands of the oracle had not been literally fulfilled. Accordingly the settlement ended with it nothing but hardship for the space of two years; and Baitas returned with his companions to Delphi, to complain that the promised land had proved a bitter disappointment. The god, through his priests, returned for answer, "If you, who have never visited the cattle-breeding Libya, know it better than I who know, I greatly admire your cleverness". Again the invincible mandate bade them to return. This time they planted themselves on the actual continent of Libya, nearly over against the island of Plata, in a district called Atria, surrounded on both sides by fine woods, and with a running stream adjoining. After six years of residence in this spot, they were persuaded by some of the indigenous Libyans to abandon it, under the promise that they should be conducted to a better situation. Their guides now brought them to the actual site of Kyrtol, saying, "Here, men of Helia, is the place for you to dwell, for here the sky is partitioned".² The road through which they passed had led through the towering region of Ima, with its fountain Throt, and their guides took the precaution to carry them through it by night, in order that they might remain ignorant of its location.

¹ Herodot. iv. 185.

² Herodot. iv. 186. *Antiquities* c. 10.
Antiquities c. 10. Compare the text

with the *Antiquities* c. 10.
 account of the return of the colonists
 (Herodot. iv. 186. *Antiquities* c. 10.)

Such were the preliminary steps, divine and human, which brought Bolias and his colonists to Kyriak. In the *geographical* time of Herodotus, Ionia was an outlying portion of *Asia Minor* the eastern territory of this powerful city. But we trace in the story just related an opinion prevalent among his Ephyrean inhabitants, that Trua with its fountain Therai was a more fertile province than Kyriak with its fountain of Apollo, and right in proportion to have been originally chosen: out of which opinion, according to the general habit of the Greek mind, an anecdote is engendered and accredited, explaining how the supposed mistake was committed. What may have been the recommendations of Trua, we are not permitted to know; but descriptions of modern travellers,* no less than the subsequent history of Kyriak, go far to justify the choice actually made. The city was placed at the distance of about ten miles from the sea, having a sheltered port called Apollonia, half afterwards a considerable town—it was about twenty miles from the promontory Phylas, which forms the north-western projection of the Asian coast, nearly in the longitude of the Peloponnesian Cape Teneos (Mitylen). Kyriak was situated about 1600 feet above the head of the Mediterranean, of which it commanded a fine view, and from which it was unobscuredly visible, on the edge of a range of hills which slope by successive terraces down to the port. The soil immediately around, partly calcareous, partly sandy, is described by Captain Barclay to present a vigorous vegetation and remarkable fertility; though the ancients considered it inferior in this respect both to Bactra¹ and Hesperides, and still more inferior to the more westerly region near Kiryza. But the abundant pastoral riches, attracted by the lofty heights around, and justifying the expression of the "porphyretic sky," were even of greater importance under an Asian sun than extraordinary richness of soil.² The maritime

¹ Hecataeus, p. 118.

² See, about the productive power of Kyriak and the surrounding region, Herodotus, p. 100; Callimachus (above) and a Ephyrean, Trua, ad. Apoll. 18, with the note of Theophrastus; Plinius, lxxv. 16, with the Greek passage; Strabo, II. 10; Arrian, Indica, c. 12. Strabo (lxxv. p. 107) says Kyriak took the sea by sailing by, and was

connected with the shore by a dam well known to Strabo (lxxv. 10).

The records of modern observation in this country are given in the Voyage of De la Caille, and in the exploring expedition of Captain Barclay; each informing accurately to the history of the Asiatic States, by Dr. Russell (London, 1822, 2d. ed. p. 286-292). This chapter on the subject to 41 B

place must have been in the days of Herakleitos and Pindar. So much did the Erymanne pride themselves on the Pelopides, found wild in their back country from the island of Plata on the east to the inner recess of the Great Syria westward—the leaves of which were highly celebrated for wine and the stalk for man, while the root furnished the peculiar juice for export.—that they maintained it to have first appeared seven years prior to the arrival of the first Greek colonists in their city.¹

But it was not only the prosperity of the soil which promoted the prosperity of Kythia. *Likivatis*² prides the well-known site of that colony, because it was planted in the midst of indigenous natives apt for subjection, and far distant from any formidable enemies. That the native Libyan tribes were made ^{Lygia} ^{which was} ^{Kyria} conducive in an eminent degree to the growth of the ^{Kyria} ^{Kyria} Greco-Libyan cities, admits of no doubt; and in reviewing the history of these cities, we must bear in mind that their population was not pure Greek, but more or less mixed. The start of the colonies in Italy, Sicily, or Ionia. Though our information is very imperfect, we are enough to prove that the small force brought over by Balak the Summerer was enabled first to fraternise with the indigenous *Lygia*—next, reinforced by additional colonists and swelling themselves of the power of native chiefs, to overcome and subjugate them. Kythia—combined with Barka and Hesperides, both of them having sprung from her root³—extended over the Libyan tribes between the borders of Egypt and the inner recess of the Great Syria, for a space of three degrees of longitude, an area nearly similar to that which Carthage possessed over the more westerly Libyans near the Lesser Syria. Within those Erymanne limits, and farther westward along the shores of the Great Syria, the Libyan tribes were of pastoral habits; westward, beyond the Lake Tritikén and the Lesser Syria,⁴ they began to be agri-

¹ Theophrast. *Hist. Pl. ed. B. 2, 4*; in 1, 5; Strabo, 2, 37.

² *Lykivatis*, in 2, ed. Pindar, p. 41 in 10, ed. Bala. Thales being a colony of *Likivatis*, and Kythia of Thales, probably speaks of Erymanne's colony of *Likivatis*.

³ *Lykivatis*, p. 41, in 10. Erymanne's colony, in the time of Thales, shows three cities very possibly

have been spoken of as a *Telikia*; but we are before Alexander the Great, would have understood the population *Lykivatis*, and not the proper to denote *Lygia*, *Aglyria*, *Pelikivatis*, *Telikivatis*, and *Hesperides*.

⁴ *Lykivatis*, originally the land of Barka, and having afterwards had of greater importance than the latter.

⁵ The accounts respecting the lake

Arbia, who flock to the inexhaustible Fountain of Apollo and to other parts of the mountainous region from Kyriak to Hesperides, when their supply of water and forage fails in the interior;¹ and the same circumstances must have operated, in recent times to hold the Nomadic Litynes in a sort of dependence on Kyriak and Baria. Kyriak approached the maritime portion of the territory of the Lityne Asbyrta;² the Asbyrta occupied the region south of Baria, touching the sea near Hesperides; the Kabales dwelt near Trechura in the territory of Baria. Over the interior spaces these Lityne Nomads, with their cattle and belated herds, wandered unconstrained, empty fed upon meat and milk,³ clothed in goat skins, and enjoying better health than any people known to Herodotus. Their breed of horses was excellent, and their chariots or waggon with four horses could perform their allotted area by Grotia. It was to these horses that the prince⁴

¹ Herod. viii. 1, "ἐκκαταλείπει τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνταρτήριον." Another passage referring to the same supplies of the interior dwells in—

"Herodotus, from the same source, Hesperides and Baria, although in want of abundant water, which was reserved for the Asbyrta, their maritime neighbours, and only resorted to what was more distant, as they were situated, in winter there it is very hot and dry. Many of the nomadic tribes were engaged in driving flocks by the coast during their winter, ready to shepherd at the coast." (Herod. viii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 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and migration of Kyrenaï and Butha owed the frequent migration of their districts in the games of Greece. The Libyans ^{traders of Naucratis, leaving their settlements near the sea, were in the habit of making an annual journey up the country to the Oasis of Siwa for the purpose of gathering the date-harvest,¹ or of purchasing dates; and the Butoian Arabs from E-nagat still make this same journey annually, carrying up their wheat and barley for the same purpose. Each of the Libyan tribes was distinguished by a distinct mode of wearing the hair, and by some peculiarities of religious worship, though generally all worshipped the Sun and the Moon.² But in the neighbourhood of the Lake Tritonis (presumably the western extremity of Greek trading trade in the time of Herodotus, who knows little beyond, except from Carthaginian authorities), the Greeks before Ptolemy and Athina, together with the legend of Jason and the Argonauts, had been localized. There were moreover current prophecies concerning that one hundred Buthian cities were destined one day to be founded round the lake—and that one city in the island Fula, surrounded by the lake, was to be planted by the laurel-merchant.³ These indeed were among the many unfulfilled prophecies which from every side cheered the Greeks on, proceeding probably from Kyrenæan or Theraean traders, who sought the spot advantageous for settlement, and circulated their own hopes under the form of divine utterance. It was about the year 510 B.C.⁴ that some of the Theraeans conducted the Spartan prince Dorcius to found a colony in the fertile region of Kinyra, belonging to the Libyan Butha. But Carthage, intent on preventing the extension of Greek settlements westward, aided the Libyans in driving him out.}

The Libyans in the immediate neighbourhood of Kyrenaï were naturally changed by the establishment of that town. They constituted a large part—at first probably for the largest part—of its constant population. But ^{traders of Naucratis and others in Egypt, at Kyrenaï,} possessing that fierce tenacity of habit which the Hellenic religion has impressed upon the Arabs of the present day, they were open to the mingled influence of

¹ Herodotus, iv. 177-181. Compare vi. 3, 208.

Herodotus's *Geographia* in Africa, p. 48, last passage, *Naucratis* and *Herodotus* the *Africa* *Wells*, *The B. Africa* *to* *Antiquities*

² Herodotus, iv. 179-181.

³ Herodotus, iv. 181, 182, 183, 184.

⁴ Herodotus, iv. 181.

concealed and selection applied by Greek writers; and in the time of Herodotus, the Kababoi and the *Adelpoi* of the nation had come to copy Kyrenian tastes and customs.¹ The Thracian refugees, having obtained not merely the means, but even the guidance, of the natives in their occupation of Kyrenê, considered themselves like privileged Spartan citizens in the midst of Libyan *Periaki*.² They seem to have named Libyan cities, so that Herodotus describes the women of Kyrenê and Barke as following even in his time, religious observances indigenous and not Hellenic.³ Even the descendants of the primitive *adelpi* Barke were now-Libyan, for Herodotus gives as the earliest information that Barke was the Libyan word for a king, and deduces from it the just inference that the name Barke was not originally personal to the king, but acquired in Libya first as a title,⁴ though it afterwards passed to his descendants as a proper name. For eight generations the reigning princes were called Barke and Arkasides, the Libyan denomination alternating with the Greek, until the family was finally deprived of its power. Moreover we had the chief of Barke, kinsman of Arkasides of Kyrenê, bearing the name of Akasê, a name certainly not Hellenic, and probably Libyan.⁵ We are therefore to conclude that Thracian colonies as established in their lofty fortified post Kyrenê in the centre of Libyan *Periaki*, did their strongest to walk, to sit, and perhaps even to cultivated land. Probably these *Periaki* were always subject and tributary, to a greater or less degree, though they continued for half a century to retain their own king.

To these rude men the Thracians communicated the elements of Hellenism and civilization, not without receiving themselves much that was non-Hellenic in return; and perhaps the reactionary influence of the Libyan element against the Hellenic might have proved the stronger of the two, had they not been reinforced by

¹ Herodotus, iv. 178, relates its early settlement upon the desert-plains, near Kyrenê.

² Herodotus, iv. 201. Singular and the expression, &c.

³ Herodotus, iv. 202-203. Compare also the story in Pindar, *Pan.* iv.

194-195, about Akasê's son. On the nature of Thracian life, Herodotus (i. 64) has the Thracian wife, for his evidence is wanting, a Libyan tradition, daughter of Arkasides of Kyrenê and Arkasides, *ibid.* 194, 195.

⁴ Herodotus, iv. 194.

⁵ Herodotus, iv. 194.

aid from Apollis king of Egypt, then in the height of his power ; sending to declare himself and his people Egyptians subjects, like their neighbours the Akyruakids. The Egyptian prince, accepting the offer, despatched a large military force of the native soldier-race, who were constantly in motion at the western frontier-town Marna, by the route along shore to attack Kyleia. They were met at least by the Greeks of Kyleia, and being totally ignorant of Greek arms and tactics, experienced a defeat so complete that few of them reached home.¹ The consequences of this disaster to Egypt, where it caused the transfer of the throne from Apollis to Amasis, have been noticed in a former chapter.

Of course the Libyan Psueli were put down, and the reduction of lands near Kyleia among the Greek settlers accomplished, to the great increase of the power of the city. And the reign of Baktes the Prosperous marks a flourishing era in the town, with a large acquisition of land-dominions, antecedent to years of disaster and distress. The Egyptian prince then in intimate alliance with Amasis king of Egypt, who encouraged Greek occupation in every way, and who even took to wife Lakhé, a woman of the Baktes family at Kyleia ; so that the Libyan Psueli lost all chance of Egyptian aid against the Greeks.²

New prospects, however, were opened to them during the reign of Artabanus the Second, son of Baktes the Prosperous (about 684—644 B.C.). The behaviour of this prince incensed and alienated his own brothers, who raised a revolt against him, headed with a portion of the citizens, and induced a number of the Libyan Psueli to take part with them. They founded the Greco-Libyan city of Baktes, in the territory of the Libyan Amasians, about twelve miles from the coast, distant five Kyleia by sea, about seventy miles to the westward. The space between the two, and even beyond Baktes as far as the most westerly Greek colony called Hesperides, was in the days of Kyleia provided with commodious ports for refuge or landing.³ At what time Hesperides was founded we do not know, but it existed about

¹ Herodotus, i. 20.
² Herodotus, i. 20—22.

³ Herodotus, i. 16. Kyleia, p. 207.
 Strabo, Geogr. 16, ad. Cherson.

functions which had belonged to his predecessors. Regarding the government, as newly formed, however, Hieronymus unfortunately gives us hardly any particulars. Domitian divided the inhabitants of Kyrenê into three tribes; composed of—1. Thracians with their Libyan Periochi; 2. Greeks who had come from Peloponnesians and Kithia; 3. such Greeks as had come from all other islands in the *Agæan*. It appears too that a senate was constituted, taken decisions from these three tribes, and, we may presume, in equal proportion. It seems probable that there had been before no constitutional classification, nor political privileges, except what was vested in the Thracians—that these latter, the descendants of the original colonists, were the only persons hitherto known to its constitution—and that the remaining Greeks, though free landed proprietors and *hoplites*, were not permitted to act as an integral part of the body politic, nor distributed in tribes at all.¹ The whole power of government—up to this time vested in the Refined prince, subject only to such check, how effective we know not, which the customs of Thracian origin might be able to interpose—were now transferred from the prince to the people, that is, to certain individuals or assemblies chosen somehow from among all the citizens. There existed at Kyrenê, as at Thebes and Sparta, a board of Ephors, and a band of three hundred armed police,² analogous to those who were called the *Hippais* or Horsemen at Sparta. Whether these were instituted by Domitian we do not know, nor does the identity of either

¹ The description of V. Miller, that the preceding king had made himself chosen by means of Egyptian soldiers, appears to us not probable and not a *hæbitus*, when the direct evidence of Hieronymus's account alone, when we take his measurements, the silence of Hieronymus. Nor is it to be termed a discovery that Domitian "removed the supremacy of the colony."¹ Our hypothesis represented the old king a royal personage, and created a sole constitution (see O. Müller, *History of Greece*, 4. 11. 28, 4. 2. 10).

² *Index* to Miller *ibid.*, 4. 11. 4, 5, and *Suppl.* *ibid.*, *Cyren.*, 4. 11, a last speech of Domitian on having abolished the old tribes and created new ones. The old constitution changes in this respect. Hieronymus did not direct evidence, but distribution for the first time

the individuals into tribes. It is possible indeed, that before his time the Thracians of Kyrenê had been distributed among themselves into distinct tribes, but the other inhabitants, having transferred from a great number of different places, had never before been divided into tribes at all. Some third statement of population was necessary for this purpose, to bring and combine old colonies, new, and political conditions which, only by making the law of the tribe, it is not to be assumed, on a number of points, that these could necessarily have been tribes anterior to Domitian, among a population so heterogeneous in its origin.

² Hieronymus, *Trojanus*, J. *Epist.*, ad Rom. *Agæ.*, p. 100; Hieronymus *Perioch.*, 10. 10. 1, 2.

cities, in different states, afford safe ground for inferring identity of person. This is particularly to be remarked with regard to the Paroski at Kyriak, who were perhaps more analogous to the Iliaite than to the Periochi of Sparta. The fact that the Paroski were considered in the new constitution as belonging specially to the Thesman branch of citizens, shows that there later still retained a privileged status, like the Patricians with their Clients at Rome in relation to the Plebs.

That the re-arrangement introduced by Demokles was wise, consistent to the general current of Greek feeling, and calculated to work well, there is good reason to believe. No discontent within would have subsisted it without the aid of extraneous force. Before the Lame embarked in it possibly during his life; but his widow and his son, Phantikos and Antarkhos, raised a revolt after his death and tried to regain by force the kingly privileges of the family. They were worsted and obliged to flee—the mother to Cyprus, the son to Samos—where both employed themselves in procuring foreign arms to invade and conquer Kyriak. Though Phantikos could obtain no assistance from Euthymis prince of Salamis in Cyprus, her son was more successful in Samos, by inviting new Greek settlers to Kyriak, under promise of a redistribution of the land. A large body of emigrants joined him on this proclamation; the period seemingly being favourable to it, since the Ionian cities had not long before become subject to Persia, and were discontented with the yoke. But before he concluded this numerous band against his native city, he thought proper to ask the advice of the Delphian oracle. Success in the undertaking was promised to him, but moderation and mercy after success were emphatically enjoined, on pain of losing his life; and the United race was declared by the god to be destined to rule at Kyriak for eight generations, but no longer—as for as four princes named Baïnos and four named Arkhidemos! “More than with eight generations (said the Pythia), Apollo forbids the Tyrrhenians even to aim at!” This oracle was doubtless told to Harpokles by Kyrianian informants when he visited their city

How true.
At Kyriak -
Demokles was
the last
of the last
and Antarkhos
was the
third.

Oracle
during the
existence of
the Paroski
dynasty.

¹ Herodot. iv. 152. Τηλεπύκλειος ἄρχων ἦν ὁπότε δὲ τὸν Περικλῆα ἐπέβλεπον οἱ Ἴωνες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἔπειτα οὐδὲν ἐπιβόητος ἔπαυεν.

after the final disposition of the Bactrian princes; which took place in the person of the fourth Artabazus, between 428—430 B.C.; the invasion of Kyrtak by Artabazus the Third, sixth prince of the Bactrian race, to which the oracle pretended to refer, having occurred about 550 B.C. The words placed in the mouth of the priestess doubtless date from the later of these two periods, and afford a specimen of the way in which pretended prophecies are not only made up by anti-dating after-knowledge, but are also so contrived as to serve a present purpose; for the distant prohibition of the god "not even to aim at a longer lineage than eight Bactrian princes," seems plainly intended to deter the purchase of the deluded family from endeavouring to reinstate them.

Artabazus the Third, to whom this prophecy purports to have been addressed, returned with his mother Pharnaces and his army of new colonists to Kyrtak. He was strong enough to carry all before him—to expel some of his chief opponents and seize upon others, whom he sent to Cyprus to be destroyed; though the vessels were driven out of their course by storms to the harbours of Kallia, where the inhabitants rescued the prisoners and sent them to Tadm. Other Kyransians, opposed to the Bactrians, took refuge in a lofty private tower, the property of Aglônaxos, whereas Artabazus ordered them all to be burnt, hanging wood round and setting it on fire. But after this career of triumph and ravage, he became conscious that he had departed from the willowes enjoined to him by the oracle, and sought to avoid the punishment which it had threatened by retiring from Kyrtak. At any rate he departed from Kyrtak to Baktia, to the residence of the Bactrian prince his kinsman Almis, whose daughter he had married. But he found in Baktia some of the unfortunate men who had fled from Kyrtak to escape him. These oracles, aided by a few Bactrians, watched for a suitable moment to assail him in the market-place, and slew him together with his kinsman the prince Almis.³

The victory of Artabazus at Kyrtak, and his assassination at Baktia, are doubtless real facts. But they seem to have been compressed together and incorrectly coloured, in order to give to

the death of the Eyrmenians prices the appearance of a divine judgment. For the reign of Antiochus cannot have been very short, since events of the utmost importance occurred within it. The Ptolemies under Kleopatra conquered Egypt, and both the Eyrmenians and the Bactrians were sent to Memphis to make their submission to the conqueror—offering presents and imposing upon themselves an annual tribute. These presents of the Eyrmenians, 300 talents of silver, were considered by Kleopatra as contemptibly small, that he took hold of them at once and threw them among his soldiers. And at the moment when Antiochus died, Arsakus, the Persian, came after the death of Kleopatra to found a kingdom in Egypt.

Antiochus here sent his three sons, Antiochus, Seleucus, and King of Persia.

During the absence of Antiochus at Bactria, his mother Pharnaces had acted as regent, taking her place at the banquet in the senate. But when his death took place, and the usurper against the Bactrians manifested himself strongly at Bactria, she did not feel powerful enough to put it down, and went to Egypt to solicit aid from Arsakus. The usurper, being made to believe that Antiochus' death was consequence of steady devotion to the Persians, sent a herald to Bactria to demand the man who had slain him. The Bactrians assumed the collective responsibility of the act, saying that he had done them injuries both numerous and severe—a further proof that his reign cannot have been very short. On receiving this reply, the usurper immediately dispatched a powerful Persian army, sent force as well as numbers, in fulfilment of the designs of Pharnaces against Bactria. They besieged the town for nine months, trying to storm, to batter, and to undermine the walls; but their efforts were vain, and it was taken at last only by an act of the greatest perfidy. Pretending to relinquish the attempt to conquer, the Persian general concluded a treaty with the Bactrians, wherein it was stipulated that the latter should continue to pay tribute to the Great King, but that the way should retire without further hostilities: "I swear it (said the Persian general), and my oath shall hold good, as long as this

or 371—Pharnaces, king of Armenia, sent his three sons, Antiochus, Seleucus, and King of Persia.

¹ Herodotus, III. 10; IV. 100—101.

² Polybius (Strabo), VI. 10; 11, 12, 13, 14.

Antiochus here sent his three sons, Antiochus, Seleucus, and King of Persia.

earth shall keep its place". But the spot on which the oaths were exchanged had been deliberately prepared: a ditch had been excavated and covered with hurdles, upon which again a surface of earth had been laid. The Barbarians, crouching in the ditch, and overjoyed at their liberation, immediately opened their gates and relaxed their guard; while the Persians, breaking down the hurdles and letting fall the unexpected earth, so that they might comply with the letter of their oath, assaulted the city and took it without difficulty.

Misrobis was the list which Pherekrates had in reserve for these entrapped prisoners. She crucified the chief opponents of herself and her late son around the walls, on which were also affixed the breasts of their wives; then, with the exception of such of the inhabitants as were Bactriæ and noway concerned in the death of Arkasinos, she consigned the rest to slavery in Persia. They were carried away captive into the Persian empire, where Darius assigned to them a village in Bactria as their place of abode, which still bears the name of Barba, even in the days of Herodotus.

During the course of this expedition, it appears, the Persian army advanced as far as Hesperides, and reduced many of the Libyan tribes to subjection. These, together with Myrthos and Barba, figure afterwards among the tributaries and auxiliaries of Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. And when the army returned to Egypt, by order of Artabanus, they were half inclined to seize Xerxes himself in their way, though the opportunity was missed and the purpose left unaccomplished.¹

Pherekrates accompanied the returning army to Egypt, where she died shortly of a loathsome disease, consumed by worms; thus showing (says Herodotus)² that "excessive cruelty in revenge brings down upon men the displeasure of the gods". It will be remembered that in the veins of this savage woman the Libyan blood was intermixed with the Greek. In Greece Proper, political enmity kills—but seldom, if ever, mutilates—or sheds the blood of women.

We thus have Myrthos and Barba again subject to Bactrian

¹ Herodot. ix. 82, & c.

² Herodot. ix. 82.

princes, at the same time that they are tributaries of Persia. Another Darius and another Artabanus have to intervene before the glass of this worthless dynasty is run out, between 480—450 B.C. I shall not at present carry the reader's attention to this last Artabanus, who stands honoured by two chariot victories in Greece, and two two sides of Pindar.

During the
first 480 and
Artabanus
the Persians
— had no
troubles of
the dynasty
though some
and had.

The victory of the third Artabanus, and the restoration of the Bottada, broke up the equitable constitution established by Darius. His triple classification into tribes must have been completely remodelled, though we do not know how; for the number of new colonies whom Artabanus introduced must have necessitated a fresh distribution of land, and it is extremely doubtful whether the relation of the Thersian class of citizens with their Persians, as established by Darius, still continued to subsist. It is necessary to notice this fact, because the arrangements of Darius are spoken of by some authors as if they formed the permanent constitution of Erythra; whereas they cannot have outlined the restoration of the Bottada, nor can they even have been revised after that dynasty was finally expelled, since the number of new citizens and the large change of property, introduced by Artabanus the Third, would render them inapplicable to the subsequent city.

During the
time of
Darius
and
Artabanus.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PAN-HELLENIC FESTIVALS—OLYMPIC, PYTHIAN,
NEMEAN, AND ISTHMIAN.

In the preceding chapters I have been under the necessity of presenting to the reader a picture altogether inconsistent and destitute of central effect. I have specified briefly each of the two or three hundred towns which agreed in bearing the Hellenic name, and recounted its birth and early life, as far as our evidence goes—but without being able to point out any action and reaction, exploits or sufferings, prosperity or misfortune, glory or disgrace, common to all. To a great degree, this is a characteristic inseparable from the history of Greece from its beginning to its end: for the only political unity which it ever receives is the unalloyed unity of subjection under all-conquering Rome. Nothing short of force will efface in the mind of a free Greek the idea of his city as an autonomous and separate organization. The village is a fraction, but the city is an unit,—and the highest of all political units, not admitting of being consolidated with others into a ten or a hundred, to the sacrifice of its own separate and individual work. Such is the character of the race, both in their primitive country and in their colonial settlements—in their early as well as in their late history—explaining by natural factors into a multitude of self-administering, individual cities. But that which marks the early historical period before Ptolemy, and which impresses upon it an incoherence at once so fatiguing and so irremediable, is, that as yet no causes have arisen to counteract this political isolation. Each city, whether progressive or stationary, prudent or adventurous, turbulent or tranquil, follows out its own signal of existence, having no

Herodotus present this early period only by way of preface and contrast to that which follows—when the Pan-Hellenic spirit and tendencies, though never at any time predominant, yet counted for a powerful element in history, and sensibly modified the universal instinct of disunion. They tell us little about it, either because they could find no trustworthy information, or because there was nothing in it to captivate the imagination in the same manner as the Persian or the Peloponnesian wars. From whatever cause their silence arises, it is deeply to be regretted, since the phenomena of the two centuries from 700–500 B.C., though not susceptible of any correct grouping, must have presented the most instructive matter for study, had they been preserved. In no period of history have there ever been formed a greater number of new political communities, under such variety of circumstances, personal as well as local. A few chronicles, however destitute of philosophy, reporting the most curious of some of these colonies from their commencement—amidst all the difficulties attendant on amalgamation with strange natives, as well as on a fresh distribution of land—would have added greatly to our knowledge both of Greek character and Greek social existence.

Taking the two centuries now under review, then, it will appear that there is not only no growing political unity among the Greek states, but a tendency even to the contrary—the dissemination and mutual estrangement. Not so, however, is regard to the other feelings of unity capable of subsisting between men who acknowledge no common political authority—sympathies founded on common religion, language, belief of race, legends, tastes and customs, intellectual appetencies, sense of proportion and artistic excellence, recreative enjoyments, &c. On all these points, the manifestations of Hellenic unity become more and more pronounced and comprehensive, in spite of increased political dissemination, throughout the same period. The breadth of common sentiment and sympathy between Greek and Greek, together with the conception of multitudinous partitised meetings as an indispensable portion of existence, appears decidedly greater in 500 B.C. than it had been a century before. It was fostered by the increased conviction of the

Increasing
disunion
in religious
traditions,
and social
customs.

superiority of Greeks as compared with Latins—a conviction gradually more and more justified as Greek art and intellect improved, and as the survey of foreign countries became extended—as well as by the many new efforts of men of genius in the field of music, poetry, statuary, and architecture; each of whom touched chords of feeling, belonging to other Greeks hardly less than to his own peculiar city. At the same time, the life of each peculiar city continued distinct, and even gathers to itself a greater abundance of facts and internal interests; so that during the two centuries now under notice there was in the mind of every Greek an increase both of the city-feeling and of the Pan-Hellenic feeling, but on the other hand a decline of the old sentiment of separate race—Doric, Ionic, Æolic.

I have already, in a former volume, touched upon the many-sided character of the Grecian religion, entering as it did into all the enjoyments and sufferings, the hopes and fears, the affections and antipathies of the people—not simply imposing restraints and obligations, but protecting, multiplying, and diversifying all the social pleasures and all the decorations of existence. Each city and even each village had its peculiar religious festivals, wherein the sacrifices to the gods were usually followed by public recreations of one kind or other—by feasting on the victims, processional marches, singing and dancing, or competition in strong and active exercises. The festival was originally local, but friendship or emulation of name was shown by inviting others, non-residents, to partake in its attractions. In the case of a colony and its metropolis, it was a frequent practice that citizens of the metropolis were honoured with a privileged seat at the festivals of the colony, or that one of their number was promoted with the first taste of the sacrificial victim.¹ Reciprocal representation of religious festivals was thus the standing evidence of friendship and fraternity among cities not politically united. That it must have existed to a certain degree from the earliest

the many-sided character of the Grecian religion, entering as it did into all the enjoyments and sufferings, the hopes and fears, the affections and antipathies of the people—not simply imposing restraints and obligations, but protecting, multiplying, and diversifying all the social pleasures and all the decorations of existence.

¹ Thucyd. i. 10. See the tale in Herodotus (ii. 35, 3) of the sacred olive sent annually from Miletus to Phrygia, and the story in Pliny (ii. 10) of the festival of the *Eleutheria*—*liberty*—the boys with a choros-leader and a *choros-player*; an old *choros-leader* was

also all of them partook in dancing. For the history for religious festivals designated particularly used by the Athenians in 430, see Strabo, viii. 1. 1; Paus. *Periæta*, ii. 1. 2. See also *Eleutheria*, ii. 1. 2, on the general subject.

days, there can be no reasonable doubt; though in Homer and Hesiod we find only the celebration of funeral games, by a chief at his own private expense, in honour of his deceased father or friend—with all the accompanying recitations, however, of a public festival, and with strangers not only present, but also contending for valuable prizes.¹ Passing to historical Greece during the seventh century B.C., we find evidence of two festivals, even then very considerable, and frequented by Greeks from many different cities and districts—the festival at Delos, in honour of Apollo, the great place of meeting for business throughout the Ægean—and the Olympic games.

The Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, which must be placed rather than 650 B.C., dwells with no less pride on the splendour of the Delian festival, celebrated throughout Greece, as it would appear, during all the first period of this history, for wealth, display of arms, and variety of exhibitions as well as poetical games as in bodily activity²—qualifying probably at that time, if not surpassing, the Olympic games. The complete and undisturbed grandeur of the Delian Pan-Ionic festival is one of our chief marks of the first period of Greek history, before the comparative prostration of the Ionic Greeks through the rise of Persia. It was celebrated periodically in every fourth year, in the honour of Apollo and Artemis. Moreover, it was distinguished from the Olympic games by two circumstances both deserving of notice—first, by including solemn matches not only of gymnastic, but also of musical and poetical excellence, whereas the latter had no place at Olympia; secondly, by the admission of men, women, and children indiscriminately as spectators, whereas women were formally excluded from the Olympic assembly.³ Such exclusions may have depended in part on the isolated situation of Olympia, less easily approachable by seaports than the island of Delos; but even making allowance for this circumstance, both the one distinction and the other mark the rougher character of the Æolic-Doric in Peloponnesus.

¹ Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 279, 280, 479; Hesiod, *Op.* 12, 82.

² *Strabo*, *Myth.* April 180; *Thucyd.* vi. 124.

³ *Plutarch*, v. 4, 5; *Athen.* vi. 11, 5.

⁴ *Thucyd.* vi. 124. *Plutarch* explains, and the festival called *Pythia*, had become the great place at which they met, the presence of women was still excluded (*Thucyd.* *loc. cit.* vi. 124).

The Delian festival, which greatly dwindled away during the subjugation of the Asiatic and Insular Greeks to Persia, was revived afterwards by Athens during the period of her empire, when she was seeking in every way to strengthen her central ascendancy in the Ægean. But though it continued to be ostentatiously celebrated under her management, it never regained that commanding mastery and extended frequency which we find attested in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo for its earlier period.

Very different was the life of the Olympic festival—on the banks of the Alpheius¹ in Peloponnesus, near the old ancestral temple of the Olympian Zeus—which not only grew up uninterruptedly from small beginnings to the magnitude of Pan-Hellenic importance, but even preserved its crowds of visitors and its celebrity for many centuries after the extinction of Greek freedom, and only received its final abolition, after more than 1300 years of continuance, from the decree of the Christian emperor Theodosius in 391 A.D. I have already recounted in the preceding volume of this History, the attempt made by Theodora, despotic Empress, to restore to the Pagan, or to acquire for himself, the administration of this festival—an event which proves the importance of the festival in Peloponnesus, even so early as 540 A.D. At that time, and for many years afterwards, it seems to have been frequented chiefly, if not exclusively, by the neighbouring inhabitants of Central and Western Peloponnesus—Spartans, Arcadians, Argives, Triphylians, Messians, Elisians, and Achæans²—and it forms an important link connecting the Stoic-Elisians and their privileges as Agamemnons, to Peloponnesus and Sparta. From the year 720 A.D., we trace positive evidences of the gradual process of more distant Greeks—Corinthians, Megarians, Boeotians, Athenians, and even Syrians from Asia. We observe also other proofs of growing importance, in the increased number and variety of athletes exhibited to the spectators, and in the substitution of the single crown of olive, an honorary reward, in place of the more sub-

Obsequies
were the
chief title
fests of a
long con-
tinuance.

¹ Strabo, VII. p. 382; Pausan. Olympic.
vol. I. Schensted, Edition. Pt. I. 2, 3, 44.
2, 10.

² See E. E. Hearn, *Interplay of the
Greek Peloponnesus*, vol. 2, 28.

essential present which the Olympic festival and all other Greek festivals began by conferring upon the victor. The humble necessities of the Olympic games presented originally nothing more than a match of runners in the measured course called the Stadium. A continuous series of the victorious runner was formally inscribed and preserved by the Eleans, beginning with Korabos in 776 B.C., and was made to serve by chronological inquiries from the third century B.C. downwards, as a means of measuring the chronological sequence of Greek events. It was on the occasion of the seventh Olympiad after Korabos that Dailis the Hionerian first received for his victory in the Stadium no further recompense than a wreath from the sacred olive-tree near Olympia:¹ the honour of being proclaimed victor was found sufficient, without any pecuniary addition. But until the fourteenth Olympiad (724 B.C.) there was no other match for the spectators to witness besides that of simple runners in the stadium. On that occasion a second race was first introduced, of runners in the double stadium, or up and down the course. In the next or fifteenth Olympiad (720

They
prized
beyond
all
manes
measured.

B.C.) a third match, the long course for runners, or several times up and down the stadium. There were thus three races—the simple Stadium, the double Stadium or Diadon, and the long course or Dolichos,

all for runners—which continued without addition until the eighteenth Olympiad, when the wrestling-match and the complicated Pentathlon (including jumping, running, the quoit, the javelin, and wrestling) were both added. A further novelty appears in the twenty-third Olympiad (688 B.C.), the boxing-match; and another still more important in the twenty-fifth (680 B.C.), the chariot with four full-grown horses. The last mentioned addition is deserving of special notice, not merely as it diversified the game by the introduction of horses, but also as it brought in a totally new class of competitors—rich men and women, who possessed the liquid means and could hire the most skilful drivers, without any personal superiority or power of

¹ *Strabo*, *Geograph.*, lib. 8, tit. 1, § 11; *Pliny*, *de Olymp.*, p. 125. *Strabo* is mistaken in the story told by the Greeks on the Greek victory over the Persians at Salamis, and on the crown which

they took to themselves as no competitors, but for women, and for glory, and for a prize, etc. Cf. *Compare the Hellenic in Politics*, Bonn, and *Class. Argument*, p. 215—224, ed. Meusel.

bold display in themselves! The prodigious exhibition of wealth in which the almost populations indulged is not only an evidence of growing importance in the Olympic games, but also served materially to increase their importance and to brighten the interest of spectators. Two further matches were added to the thirty-third Olympiad (514 B.C.)—the *Pankration*, or boxing and wrestling combined,¹ with the head unarm'd as directed of this hard leather cover² worn by the pugilist, which rendered the blow of the latter more terrible, but at the same time prevented him from grasping or keeping hold of his adversary—and the single race-horse. Many other novelties were introduced one after the other, which it is unnecessary fully to enumerate—the race between men clothed in full panoply and bearing each his shield—the different matches between boys, and-guns to those between full-grown men, and between calls of the same nature as between full-grown horses. At the maximum of its duration the Olympic solemnity occupied five days, but until the seventy-seventh Olympiad all the various matches had been compressed into one—beginning at day-break and not always closing before dark.³ The seventy-seventh Olympiad follows immediately after the successful expulsion of the Persians invaders from Greece, when the Pan-Hellenic feeling had been heavily stimulated by resistance to a common enemy: and we may easily conceive the

[illegible]

1. *Geology, Paleontology, Vol. 1991*, vol. 19, 1991, Moscow.

*The original Greek word for this gateway (which surrounded the position) and upper portion of the digress, bearing both the name of the digress and the Greek's name of the gate, was *Thalys* (Thalys, which, in English, is translated as "gate" or "door").

[illegible]

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For the birds nesting in the Florida Keys collected by Cooper (1940), the mean egg volume was 1.5 ml, and all were empty and fresh, with a yolk-sac remnant, by Cooper (1940), other investigators (see Cooper) reported on eggs, which were 1-2 cm in diameter.

this was a suitable moment for imparting additional dignity to the chief national festival.

We are thus enabled partially to trace the steps whereby, during the two centuries immediately Before Christ preceding 776 B.C., the festival of the Olympic Games in the Peloponnesus gradually passed from a local to a national character, and acquired an attraction some capable of bringing together into temporary union the dispersed fragments of Hellenic States, from Macedonia to Troas and. In this important function it did not long stand alone. During the sixth century B.C., three other festivals, at first local, became successively nationalized—the Pythia near Delphi, the Isthmian near Corinth, the Nemean near Kleonæ, between Sikyon and Argos.

In regard to the Pythian festival, we find a short notice of the particular incidents and individuals by whom its reorganization and enlargement were brought about—a notice the more interesting, inasmuch as these very incidents are themselves a manifestation of something like Fan-Hellenic patriotism, standing almost alone in an age which presents little else in operation except distinct city-interests. At the time when the Hæcæus Hymn to the Delphic Apollo was composed (probably in the seventh century B.C.), the Pythian festival had as yet acquired little extension.

The rich and holy temple of Apollo was then purely secular, established for the purpose of communicating to pious inquirers "the commands of the Immortals". Multitudes of visitors came to consult it, as well as to sacrifice victims and to deposit costly offerings; but while the god delighted in the sound of the harp as an accompaniment to the singing of Pæans, he was by no means anxious to encourage horse-races and chariot-races in the neighbourhood. Nay, this patriot considers that the noise of horses would be "a nuisance"—the drinking of meads a distraction to the sacred functions—and the ostentation of fan-built chariots objectionable,* as tending to divert the attention of

* Hæc. Hymn. April 385.

Demands of old temple from London, "restoration of temple after long det. century."

With the Delphic Pantheon, Delphi, 1870.

Appeal of development, development, 1870.

"It is not to play and rejoice with" 1870.

After 1870-1871, continued "Exposition 1870. 1870, 1870, Exposition—1870, 1870.

Their town was destroyed or left to subsist merely as a landing-place; while the whole adjoining plain was consecrated to the Delphian god, whose domains then reached the sea. Under this sentence, pronounced by the religious feeling of Greece, and sustained by a solemn oath publicly sworn and transmitted at Delphi, the land was condemned to remain untilled and unpopulated, without any species of human race, and serving only for the pasturage of cattle. The latter circumstance was convenient to the temple, inasmuch as it furnished abundance of victims for the pilgrims who landed and came to sacrifice—*for without preliminary sacrifices no man could consult the oracle*;—¹ while the entire prohibition of tillage was the only means of obstructing the growth of another troublesome neighbour on the seaboard. The rule of Kirke in this war is certain, though the necessity of a harbour for visitors arriving by sea led to the gradual revival of the town upon a humbler scale of production. But the fate of Kirke is not so clear, nor do we know whether it was destroyed, or left subsisting in a position of inferiority with regard to Delphi. From this time forward, however, the Delphians constantly appear as substantive and autonomous, asserting in their own right the management of the temple; though we shall find, on more than one occasion, that the Phokians contest this right, and lay claim to the management of it for themselves—a remnant of that early period when the oracle stood in the domain of the Phokian Kirke. There seems moreover to have been a standing antipathy between the Delphians and the Phokians.

The Sacred War just mentioned—commencing from a solemn Amphiktyonic decree, carried on jointly by troops of different states whom we do not know to have ever before co-operated, and directed exclusively towards an object of common interest—is in itself a fact of high importance as manifesting a decided growth of Pan-Hellanic feeling. Sparta is not named as interfering—a circumstance which seems remarkable when we consider both her power, even as it then stood, and her intimate connexion with the Delphian oracle—while the Athenians appear as the chief movers, through

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 104.

² Thucyd. l. i. c. 102.

impression of the scene suggested nothing but ideas of peace and brotherhood among Greeks.* And I may remark that the impression of the games as belonging to all Greeks, and to none but Greeks, was stronger and clearer during the interval between 400-400 B. C., than it came to be afterwards. For the Macedonian conquests had the effect of diluting and corrupting Hellenism, by spreading an entire variety of Hellenic tastes and notions over a wide area of incongruous foreigners, who were incapable of the real elevation of the Hellenic character; so that although in later times the games continued undiminished both in situation and in number of visitors, the spirit of Pan-Hellenic communion which had once animated the scene was gone for ever.

* Thucyd., v. 14-15, and the various ancient commentators. Pausanias, *Corinthia* (Livy, i. 25, ii. 27, &c.), giving the occasion, describes the festival and the splendours of the Attician town of Isthmæ.

For comparison of modern passages referring to the Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean Olympiads, see, (i), vol. ii, (ii), v. 40-41, and Xenophon, *Hærodotus*, &c.

P. 2, v. 3, 189 shows that various Greek and Latin writers of antiquity, in these games—that systematic recognition of the Olympiads for the purpose of denoting the exact lengths of years, which they mentioned—did not, the wholeheartedness with which they participated in respect to the obligations of time for the Olympiads, or Holy Games.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LYRIC POETRY.—THE SEVEN WISE MEN.

THE interval between 700—600 B.C. presents to us a remarkable expansion of Greek genius in the creation of their *epic*, *hymn*, *lyric*, *comic*, and *tragic* poetry, which was diversified in a great many ways and improved by many separate masters. The contents of all these different styles—from *Kallinos* and *Archilochus* down to *Sophocles*—fall within the two centuries here included; though *Pindar* and *Simoneides*, "the proud and high-spirited bard,"¹ who carried lyric and comic poetry to the acme of elaboration consistent with full poetical effect,

lived in the succeeding century, and were contemporaries with the tragedian *Æschylus*. The *Grecian* *lyric* drama, which as well as tragedy, at the fifth century B.C., combined the lyric and comic song with the living action of various dialogues—thus constituting the last ascending movement in the poetical genius of the race. Reserving this for a future time, and for the history of Athens, to which it more particularly belongs, I now propose to speak only of the poetical movements of the two earlier centuries, wherein Athens has little or no part. So scanty are the remnants, unfortunately, of these earlier poets, that we can offer little except criticisms borrowed at second-hand, and a few general considerations on their workings and tendency.²

¹ *Blomfield, Ovid. B. p. 46.* *Wernsdorff, Ovid. p. 100.*

² For the various phases of this evolution, the elements, growth, and decline, see the history of *O. Müller's History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, wherein the lyric poets are treated with greater length

than accords with the facts of this art, and for almost higher estimation according to subjective and subjective, but not always within the limits of the evidence.

The learned work of *Ullrich, Die griechische Lyrik*, is also worth reading in this connection.

Archilochus and Kallinos both appear to fall about the middle of the seventh century B.C., and it is with them that the innovations in Greek poetry commence. Before them, we are told, there existed nothing but the *Thyrs*, or Dactylic Hexameter poetry, of which much has been said in my former volume—long legendary stories or adventures recited, together with addresses or hymns to the gods. We must recollect, too, that this was not only the whole poetry, but the whole literature of the age. Poem composition was altogether unknown. Writing, if beginning to be employed as an aid to a few superior men, was at any rate generally unused, and found no reading public. The voice was the only communication, and the ear the only recipient, of all those ideas and feelings which productive minds in the community found themselves impelled to pour out; and both voice and ear were accustomed to a mixed notation or chant, apparently something between song and speech, with simple rhythm and a still simpler occasional accompaniment from the primitive four-stringed harp. Such habits and requirements of the voice and ear were, at that time, inseparably associated with the success and popularity of the poet, and restricted freedom to restrict the range of subjects with which he could deal. The type was in a certain sense consecrated, like the primitive statue of the gods, from which men only ventured to deviate by gradual and almost unconscious innovations. Moreover, in the first half of the seventh century B.C., that genius which had once created an *Iliad* and an *Odyssey* was no longer to be found. The work of hexameter narrative had come to be possessed by less gifted persons—by those Cyclic poets of whom I have spoken in the preceding volume.

Such, as far as we can make it out, under very uncertain evidence, was the state of the Greek mind immediately before elegiac and lyric poets appeared; while at the same time its experience was enlarging by the formation of new colonies, and the communication among various states tending to increase by the free reciprocity of religious games and festivals. There arose a demand for turning the literature of the age (I use this word as synonymous with the poetry) to new feelings and purposes, and for applying the new, plastic, and musical

writing
subject of
subject to the
poetry—
new metres
—enlarged
subject
metre.

language of the old epic to prevent passion and extravagance, sound as well as individual. Such a tendency had become obvious in Hesiod, even within the range of homœopietic verse. Now the same views which led to an enlargement of the subjects of poetry induced men also to vary the meter. In regard to this latter point, there is reason to believe that the expansion of Greek music was the immediate determining cause. For it has been already stated that the musical scale and instruments of the Greeks, originally very narrow, were materially enlarged by borrowing from Phrygia and Lydia, and these enlargements seem to have been first realized about the beginning of the seventh century B.C., through the Lesbian harper Terpander, the Phrygian (or Greek-Phrygian) flute-player

Improvement of the scale by Terpander and the flute by Olympus and others.

Olympus, and the Arktian or Boeotian flute-player Kleon. Terpander made the important advance of exchanging the original four-stringed lary for one of seven strings, embracing the compass of one octave or two Greek tetrachords; while Olympus as well as

Kleon taught many new notes or tones on the flute, to which the Greeks had before been strangers—probably also the use of a flute of more varied musical compass. Terpander is said to have gained the prize at the first recorded celebration of the Lacedæmonian festival of the Karneia, in 675 B.C. This is one of the best-ascertained points among the obscure chronology of the seventh century; and there seems grounds for assigning Olympus and Kleon to nearly the same period, a little before Archilochos and Kallinos.¹ To Terpander, Olympus, and

1 These are contemporaries in Greek music, rhythm, verse, and poetry, belonging to the seventh century B.C., and very imperfectly known, even to those contemporaries of Plato and Aristotle, who tried to get together this first obscure history of music. The writers of Plutarch, De Musica, draw what contradictory statements he found. He quotes from five different authors—Aristoxenus, Cleonides, Alexander, and Aristides, who by no means agreed in their lists of names and facts. The first name of three found together was and is Sappho. The Anaxagoras or Anaxagoras of Lampsacus, which happened to give a contradictory list of such poets and

musicians as had contended at the Karneian games, began with a Sappho of mythical origin—Anaxagoras, Sappho, Pindar, An. Aristarchus, Pindar, Sappho, Sappho, according to Plutarch, p. 1150, made the good chronological mistake of placing Terpander as contemporary with Sappho, who a good long while of Terpander and Sappho was then antecedent.

That Terpander was victor at the Karneian festival of the Karneia in 675 B.C., may have been heard by Eratosthenes from the Karneian records. The name of the Lesbian harper Terpander as having gained the same prize at some subsequent period is Plutarch, De Mus. p. 1150, probably heard of the

Hexameter. The first departure from this metre is found in the elegiac verse, employed seemingly more or less by all the four above-mentioned poets, but chiefly by the first two, and even ascribed by some to the invention of Kallinos. Tyrtæus in his military march songs employed the *Aspæsiac* metre, while in Archilochus as well as in Alkæus we find traces of a much larger range of metrical variety—*Iambic*, *Trachole*, *Anapestic*, *Ionic*, &c.—sometimes even *anapaestic* or *compounded* metres, *Anapaestic* or *Daktylic* blended with *Trachole* or *Iambic*. What we have remaining from Minæseus, who comes shortly after the preceding four, is elegiac. His contemporaries Alkæus and Sappho, besides employing many of those metres which they found existing, invented each a peculiar stanza, which is familiarly known under a name derived from each. In Solon, the younger contemporary of Minæseus, we have the elegiac, *iambic*, and *trachole*; in Theognis, yet later, the elegiac only. Arion and Stesichorus appear to have been innovators in this department, the former by his improvement in the *dikymnæic* chorus or circular song and dance in honour of Dionysus—the latter by his more elaborate choric compositions, consisting not only a strophic and antistrophic, but also a third division or episode succeeding them, pronounced by the chorus standing still. Both Anacreon and Ephyra likewise added to the stock of existing metrical varieties. We thus see that within the century and a half succeeding Terpander, Greek poetry (or Greek literature, which was then the same thing) became greatly enriched in matter as well as diversified in form.

To a certain extent there seems to have been a real connection between the two. New forms were essential for the expression of new wants and feelings—though the assertion that elegiac metre is especially adapted for one set of feelings,¹ *trachole* for a

¹ *Idem*—see fragment by writers of the beginning of the present age for *anapaestic* and *daktylic*, we may see by the passages cited in *Agæus*, vol. 2, p. 105. *Herodotus* of *Mytilene*, the elegiac poet, represented *Andro* as the home of *Epigone*; that might perhaps be not completely impossible, if we supposed in *Sappho* all that we find said of *Mytilene* (in *Plutarch*); but almost every reader of *Herodotus*,

must have been struck by *Chios* and *Mytilene* (vol. 1, p. 105), as containing places to *Sappho* still living. Again, the elegiac writer *Epigone* represented *Andro* as the home of *Epigone* and *Sappho* as the home of *Mytilene*.

² The *Idem* poem and the *Idem* *Andro* poem seem to have both passed as the national compositions of the *Idem* poet. (*Idem*, *Idem*, 20, 71 *Idem*, *Idem*, 20, 71, see also the

second, and laster for a third, if true at all, can only be situated with great latitude of exception, when we find so many of them employed by the poets for very different subjects—gay or melancholy, bitter or complaining, earnest or sprightly—scarcely with little discrimination. But the adoption of *pentameter* comes near metre, different from the perpetual series of hexameters, was required when the poet desired to do something more than recount a long story or fragment of heroic legend—when he sought to bring himself, his friends, his enemies, his city, his hopes and fears with regard to matters secret or impending, all before the notice of the hearer, and that too at ease with liberty and animation. The Greek hexameter, like our blank verse, has all its limiting conditions resting upon each separate line, and proceeds to the hearer as pronounced *verses*, *phases*, or natural pauses beyond.¹ In reference to any long composition, either epic and dramatic, such unassisted *hexameter* is found convenient, and the case was similar for Greek epic and drama—the single-lined *ambros* *Trimeter* being generally used for the dialogue of tragedy and comedy, just as the *Dactylic Hexameter* had been used for the epic. The metrical change introduced by *Aeschylus* and his contemporaries may be compared to a change from our blank verse to the rhymed couplet and quatrain. The verse was thrown into little systems of two, three, or four lines, with a pause at the end of each; and the half thus assumed to, as well as repeated and related by, the ear, was generally coincident with a close, caesura or partial, in the sense, which thus came to be distributed with greater point and effect.

metrical explanation given by Delrieux in the *Revue des Études Classiques*, v. 1887-88.

We learn from *Revue des Études Classiques*, v. 1887-88, p. 48, that the *Antiquité Classique* of Delrieux was followed by the *Revue des Études Classiques*, for a similar different way of looking. See the translation of *Plautus*, *Comedies*, p. 17-18, 1887-88.

Of the remarks made by G. Miller regarding the nature of some early poets (*History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, 2d. ed. p. 11-12, 1887-88, p. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

For some good remarks on the *Antiquité Classique* of Delrieux, see the *Revue des Études Classiques*, v. 1887-88, p. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

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Tyrteus are serious in the same strain, preaching to the Spartans heavily against the foe, and unanimity as well as confidence to the law at home. They are patriotic effusions called forth by the circumstances of the time, and sung by single voices, with accompaniment of the flute,¹ to those in whom became the flame of courage was to be kindled. For though what we person is in verse, we are still in the tide of real and present life, and we must suppose ourselves either listening to an orator addressing the citizens when danger or discussion is actually impending. It is only in the hands of Alcman that elegant verse comes to be devoted to soft and amatory subjects. His few fragments present a vein of positive and tender sentiment, illustrated by appropriate matter of local, such as would be cast into poetry in all ages, and quite different from the rhetoric of Alcman and Tyrteus.

The political career of Alcman is again distinct from that of any of his above-mentioned contemporaries. Their compositions, besides hymns to the gods, were principally expressions of feeling intended to be sung by individuals, though sometimes also suited for the Khoros or band of festive volunteers, assembled on some occasion of common interest: those of Alcman were principally choros, intended for the song and accompanying dance of the chorus. He was a native of Sardis in Lydia, or at least his family were so: and he appears to have come in early life to Sparta, though his genius and mastery of the Greek language disavow the story that he was brought over to Sparta as a slave. The most ancient arrangement of music at Sparta, generally ascribed to Terpander,² underwent considerable alteration, not only through the changes and suspensions introduced by Tyrteus, but also through the Eratos Thebes and the Lykios Alcman. The harp, the instrument of Terpander, was rivalled in part superseded by the flute or pipe, which had been recently rendered more effective in the hands of Olympus, Klonas, and Polyporadas, and which gradually became, for compositions intended to raise strong emotions, the favorite instrument of the two—being employed as accompani-

¹ Alcmanus, *ibid.* p. 120.

² Terpander, *de musica*, pp. 1254.

1181: *Arctost.* In *Lectionibus*.

Repertorium, *Præfatio*, vi. p. 125, *et*

Polyporadas, *de musica*, pp. 1254, *et* *de musica*.

Arctost. In *Lectionibus*, *Præfatio*, vi. p. 125.

Miner's with his new harvest comes in.¹ Those who recollect that in earlier periods of our history, and in all countries where there is little accumulated stock, an extraordinary difference is often experienced in the price of corn before and after the harvest, will feel the justice of Alkman's description.

Judging from these and from a few other fragments of this poet, Alkman appears to have combined the life and exulting vigour of Archilochus in the song properly so called, sung by himself individually—with a larger knowledge of musical and rhetorical effect in regard to the choric performance. He composed in the Laconian dialect—a variety of the Doric with some innovations of Alkman. And it was from him, jointly with those other composers who figured at Sparta during the century after Terpander, as well as from the simultaneous development of the choric music² in Argos, Sikyon, Archaia, and other parts of

Doric
dialect
employed
in the
choric com-
positions.

Peloponnesus, that the Doric dialect acquired permanent footing in Greece, as the only proper dialect for choric compositions. Continued by Sotadichorus and Pindar, this hold passed even to the Attic dramatists, whose choric songs are thus in a great measure Doric, while their dialogues is Attic. At Sparta, as well as in other parts of Peloponnesus,³ the musical and rhetorical style appears to have been fixed by Alkman and his contemporaries, and to have been unobscurely maintained, for two or three centuries, with little or no innovation: the music as, as the flute-players at Sparta formed an hereditary profession, who followed the routine of their fathers.⁴

Alkman was the last poet who addressed himself to the popular chorus. Both Arion and Sotadichorus composed for a body of trained men, with a degree of variety and involution such as

recomposition, afterwards much pursued by Pindar, Bacchylides, and Propertius of Chios; see Wachter, *Alkman*, Fragment, p. 29.
¹ Alkman, *frag.* 34, ed. Bergk.

"Come if' Arion wish, show
The price of vintage-corn—
But thenceforth be, the
Maiden who, indeed I' other
Circumstances."

² Pindar, *de* Wachter, v. 2, p. 129.
About the dialect of Alkman, see

Alkman, *de* Wachter, *frag.* 34, ed. Bergk.
³ Pindar, *de* Wachter, v. 2, p. 129.
⁴ Pindar, *de* Wachter, v. 2, p. 129.

⁴ Pindar, *de* Wachter, v. 2, p. 129.
In Sparta also, the popularity of the
musical and rhetorical composition was con-
tinued, though along with the innovation
Terpander; see (Pindar, *de* Wachter, v. 2, p. 129, ed. Bergk, *frag.* 34, ed. Bergk).

⁵ Pindar, v. 2, p. 129. There were pro-
bably a few with an hereditary profession,
like the *choroi*, in whom the musical
composition was.

verses of Archilochus. They by no means confined themselves, however, to *Alkaios* and *Sappho* alone. Both the one and the other composed hymns to the gods; indeed this is a theme common to all the lyric and choric poets, whatever may be their peculiarities in other ways. Most of their compositions were songs for the single voice, not for the chorus. The poetry of *Alkaios* is the more worthy of note, as it is the earliest instance of the employment of the lyric in actual political warfare, and shows the increased hold which that music was acquiring on the Greek mind.

The genuine poets, or minstrels in verse, approach by the tone of their sentiments more to the nature of prose. ^{Hebrew or Semitic} They begin with *Semonides* of *Amorgos* or of *Samos*, ^{poet} the contemporary of *Archilochus*. Indeed *Archilochus* himself devoted some compositions to the interesting tale, which had not been unknown even to *Hædyl*. In the remains of *Semonides* of *Amorgos* we trace nothing relative to the man personally, though he too, like *Archilochus*, is said to have had an individual enemy, *Oroloskalla*, whose character was exposed by his lines.¹ His only considerable poem extant is devoted to a survey of the characters of women, in iambic verse, and by way of comparison with various animals—the mare, the cat, the bee, &c. This poem follows out the *Hædyl*ic vein respecting the social and economical mischief usually caused by women, with some few honourable exceptions. But the poet shows a much larger range of observation and illustration, if we compare him with his predecessor *Hædyl*; moreover his illustrations come fresh from life and reality. We find in this early trouble the same sympathy with industry and its due rewards, which is observable in *Hædyl*, together with a still more unrelentingly tone of the universality of human events.

Of *Solôn* and *Theognis* I have spoken in former chapters. ^{modern} They reproduce in part the minstrelsy vein of *Theognis*. *Semonides*, though with a strong admixture of personal feeling and a direct application to passing events. The mixture of political with social morality, which we find in both, marks their more advanced age: *Solôn* bears in this respect the

¹ *Welcker, Semonides Amorgios Social and personal, p. 2.*

same relation to Simonides as his contemporary Alkaios bears to Archilochos. His poems, as far as we can judge by the fragments remaining, appear to have been short occasional effusions, with the exception of the epas poem respecting the celebrated island of Aiknos, which he began towards the close of his life, but never finished. They are elegiac, trimeter verses, and trochaic tetrameter: in his hands certainly neither of these metres can be said to have any special or separate character. If the poems of Solon are short, those of Theognis are much shorter, and are indeed so much broken (as they stand in our present collection), as to read like separate epigrams or bursts of feeling, which the poet had not taken the trouble to incorporate in any definite scheme or series. They form a singular mixture of maxims and passion—of general precept with personal affection towards the youth Kynos—which surprises us if tried by the standard of literary composition, but which seems a very genuine manifestation of an impetuous and a life's complaints and confessions. What resembles to us of Pindar's, another of the greatest poets nearly contemporary with Solon, is nothing more than a few maxims in verse—couplets with the name of the author in several cases embodied in them.

Amidst all the variety of rhythmical and metrical innovations which have been announced, the ancient epic continued to be ruled by the rhapsodes as before. Some new epic compositions were added to the existing stock: Egeastes of Kyrenai, about the 40th Olympiad (380 B.C.), appears to be the last of the series. At Athens, especially, both Solon and Pindar's manifested great solicitude as well for the recitation as for the correct preservation of the Iliad. Perhaps its popularity may have been diminished by the composition of so much lyric and choric poetry, more showy and striking in its accompaniments, as well as more changed in its rhythmical character. Whatever secondary effect, however, the newer species of poetry may have derived from such helps, its primary effect was produced by real intellectual or poetical excellence—by the thoughts, sentiment, and expression, not by the accompaniment. For a long time the musical composer and the poet continued generally to be one and the same person; and besides those who have acquired

Indication
tion of
metrical and
archaic
arrangement
ment to the
words and
meaning

ment.¹ To most of them is ascribed also an abundance of pithy sayings, together with one short saying or maxim peculiar to each, serving as a sort of distinctive motto.² Indeed the test of an accomplished man about this time was his talent for saying or reading poetry, and for making smart and ready answers. Regarding the consultation of Wise Men—which in the next century of Greek history, when philosophy came to be a matter of discussion and argumentation, went spoken of with great eulogy—all the statements are confused, in part even contradictory. Neither the number, nor the names, are given by all authors alike. Diogenes numbered ten, Hieronymus seventeen; the names of Solon the Athenian, Thales the Miletian, Pittacus the Mitylenæan, and Bias the Prienean, were comprised in all the lists—and the remaining names as given by Plato³ were, Kleobulus of Lindos in Rhodes, Myson of Chios, and Chilon of Sparta. We cannot curiously distribute among them the sayings or maxims, upon which in later days the Amphiktyons conferred the honour of inscription in the Delphian Temple—Know thyself—Nothing too much—Know thy opportunity—Sovereignty is the precursor of ruin. Bias is proved to be an excellent judge: while Myson was declared by the Delphian oracle to be the most discreet man among the Greeks, according to the testimony of the satirical poet Hipponax—which is the oldest testimony (540 B.C.) which can be produced in favour of any of the Seven. But Kleobulus of Lindos, far from being universally extolled, is pronounced by the poet Hieronides to be a fool.⁴

Diogenides, however, justly observed that these Seven or Ten

¹ Bias of Priene composed a poem of 1000 verses on the constitution of Ionia (Cicero, *De Rep.* i. 10), from which (see also Hieronymus 1840) some derived either directly or indirectly the just-distinguished which he ascribes to this philosopher as the wisdom of the first formed council of Ionia (Strabo i. 145).

² Not merely Xenophanes the philosopher (Cicero, *De Rep.* vii. 10, 11, 12, 13), but long after him Porphyrius and Epiphanius, composed in verse.

³ Thus the famous story of Democritus (Pl. 128)—and of the way in which Hieronymus of Ephesus traced this story (see also the quotation [quotation] of the

various authors who came to visit the philosopher) is ascribed here after that to a proverb and to a saying of his own.

⁴ Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 34, p. 34B.

⁵ Hipponax, *Frags.* 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁶ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

⁷ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

⁸ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

⁹ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹⁰ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹¹ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹² See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹³ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹⁴ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹⁵ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹⁶ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹⁷ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹⁸ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

¹⁹ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

²⁰ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

²¹ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

²² See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

²³ See *Diogenes*, *de iustitia*.

judgments, and even on the dramatic stage. And the increased self-working of the Greek mind, that created, manifested itself in Sokrates, who laid open all ethical and social questions to the scrutiny of reason, and who first awakened among his countrymen that love of dialectics which never left them—an analytical interest in the mental process of inquiring out, weighing, proving and expounding truth. To the capital item of human progress, secured through the Greeks—and through them only—to mankind generally, our attention will be called at a later period of the history. At present it is only mentioned in contrast with the naked, degraded, ignorance of the Seven Wise Men, and with the simple enforcement of the early poets—a state in which mankind has a certain place in the feelings, but no root, even among the superior minds, in the conscious exercise of reason.

The interval between Archilochus and Solon (680—640 B.C.) seems, as has been remarked in my former volume, to be the period in which writing first came to be applied to Greek poetry—to the Homeric poems among the number; and shortly after the end of that period, commences the era of compositions without metre or prose. The philosopher Plutarchus of Syra, about 340 B.C. is called by some the earliest prose-writer. But no prose-writer for a considerable time afterwards acquired any celebrity—seemingly none earlier than Ekkehartus of Mitten,¹ about 515—490 B.C.—prose being a subordinate and ineffective species of composition, not always even puerile, and requiring no small practice before the power was acquired of rendering it interesting! Down to the generation preceding Sokrates, the poets continued to be the grand leaders of the Greek mind. Until then, nothing was taught to youth except to read, to remember, to recite unassisted and rhythmically, and to comprehend, personal composition. The comments of preceptors addressed to their pupils may probably have become fuller and more instructive, but the last still continued to be epic or lyric poetry. These were the best means for acquiring a full command of the complicated acoustics

increase of
the habit of
writing—
composition
without
metre and
prose.

¹ Plut. H. N. vii. 55. Solon v. Ekkehart.

VII. Ekkehart Plutarchus for Plutarchus. ib. vi. p. 145 has more good

specimens of the difficulty and obscurity of the early Greek prose-writers, as well as of the fact that the art of composition was not acquired unassisted, but taught upon the principles of Plutarchus.

acted games, that gardens filled of beauty were first cleared and in part attained, from whence they passed afterwards to the statues of the gods. Such statues of the athletes seem to commence somewhere between Olympeus 528—526 (543—545 B.C.).

It is not until the same interval of time (between 520—500 B.C.) that we find any traces of those architectural monuments by which the more important cities in Greece afterwards attracted to themselves as much renown. The two greatest temples in Greece known to Herodotus were the Artemision at Ephesus, and the Parthenon at Athens. Of these the former seems to have been commenced, by the Samians Theodorus, about 600 B.C.—the latter, begun by the Samian Rhodius, can hardly be traced to any higher antiquity. The first attempts to decorate Athens by such edifices proceeded from Peisistratus, and his sons, near the same time. As far as we can judge, too, in the absence of all direct evidence, the temples of Persia in Italy and Sicily seem to fall in the same century. Of painting during these early centuries, nothing can be affirmed. It never at any time reached the same perfection as sculpture, and we may presume that its years of infancy were at least equally rude.

The immense development of Grecian art subsequently, and the great perfection of Grecian artists, are facts of great importance in the history of the human race; while in regard to the Greeks themselves, these facts not only acted powerfully on the taste of the people, but were also valuable indirectly as the common bond of Hellenism, and as supplying one bond of fraternal sympathy as well as of mutual pride, among its widely-dispersed sections. It is the poverty and weakness of such bonds which renders the History of Greece, prior to 500 B.C., little better than a series of parallel but isolated threads, each attached to a separate city. The increased range of joint Hellenic feeling and action, upon which we shall presently enter, though arising doubtless in great measure from new and common dangers threatening many cities at once, also springs in part from those other causes which have been enumerated in this chapter, as acting on the Grecian mind. It proceeds from the stimulus applied to all the common feelings in religion, art, and recreation.

Monumental
art seems
first to be
traced—
begins in the
statues of
Olympus
B.C.

Importance
of Grecian
art—
as a
bond of
Hellenic
union.

—from the gradual formation of national festivals, appealing in various ways to such tastes and sentiments as animated every Hellenic nation—from the inspirations of men of genius, poets, musicians, sculptors, architects, who supplied more or less in every Greek city education for the youth, training for the chorus, and excitement for the locality—from the gradual expansion of science, philosophy, and rhetoric, during the coming period of this history, which rendered one city the intellectual equal of Greece, and brought to Isthmian and Pilo pupils from the most distant parts of the Grecian world. It was this fund of common tastes, tendencies, and aspirations which moved the moral atoms of Hellenes to gravitate towards each other, and which enabled the Greeks to become something better and greater than an aggregate of petty dissipated communities like the Thracians or Phrygians. And the creation of such common, extra-political, Hellenism is the most interesting phenomenon which the historian has to point out in the early period now under our notice. He is called upon to dwell upon it the more fondly because the modern reader has generally no idea of national union without political union—an association foreign to the Greek mind. Strange as it may seem to find a song-writer put forward as an active instrument of union among his fellow-Hellens, it is not the less true that those poets, whom we have briefly passed in review, by enriching the common language and by circulating from town to town either in person or in their compositions, contributed to fan the flame of Pan-Hellenic patriotism at a time when there were few circumstances to co-operate with them, and when the causes tending to perpetuate isolation seemed to be the ascendant.

CHAPTER XXX.

GREEK AFFAIRS DURING THE GOVERNMENT OF
PERICLITUS AND HIS SONS AT ATHENS.

We now arrive at what may be called the second period of
Greek history, beginning with the rule of Periclitus at Athens
and of Cressus in Lydia.

It has been already stated that Periclitus made himself
despot of Athens in 500 B.C. He died in 487 B.C.,
and was succeeded by his son Hippias, who was
deposed and expelled in 483 B.C., thus making an
interval space of fifty years between the first expulsion
of the father and the final expulsion of the son. These
chronological points are settled on good evidence.

But the thirty-three years covered by the reign of Periclitus are
interrupted by two periods of exile, one of them lasting not less
than ten years, the other five years; and the exact place of the
years of exile, being nowhere laid down upon authority, has been
differently determined by the conjectures of chronologists.¹ Partly
from this half-known chronology, partly from a very scanty
collection of facts, the history of the half-century now before us
can only be given very imperfectly. Nor can we wonder at our
ignorance, when we find that even among the Athenians them-
selves, only a century afterwards, statements the most incorrect
and contradictory respecting the Periclitids were in circulation,
as Thucydides distinctly, and somewhat reproachfully, acquiesces
in.

More than thirty years had now elapsed since the promulgation
of the Solonian constitution, whereby the annual Senate of

¹ Mr. Pausanias (Hist. Hell. vii. 1) gathered the different opinions on the
B. Appendix, s. 1, p. 101; but stated and discussed no Periclitid chronology.

Four Hundred had been created, and the public assembly (pro-
 ceeded in its action as well as asked and registered
 by this senate) invested with a power of exacting
 responsibility from the magistrates after their year
 of office. The seeds of the subsequent democracy had
 thus been sown, and no doubt the administration of the
 archons had been practically softened by it. Yet nothing in the
 nature of a democratical sentiment yet had been created. A
 hundred years hence, we shall find that aristocratic unanimity
 and potent among the enterprising masses of Athens and
 Peiræus, and shall be called upon to listen to loud complaints of
 the difficulty of dealing with "that angry, waspish, irascible
 little old man, Demos of Pnyx"—as Aristophanes¹ calls the
 Athenian people to their faces, with a freedom which shows that
 he at least created on their good temper. But between 508—505
 B.C. the people are as passive in respect to political rights and
 securities as the most strenuous enemy of democracy could desire,
 and the government transferred from hand to hand by bargains
 and cross-changes between two or three powerful men,² at the
 head of parties who echo their votes, espouse their personal
 quarrels, and draw the sword at their command. It was this
 ancient constitution—Athens as it stood before the Athenian
 democracy—which the Macedonian Antipater professed to restore
 in 322 B.C., when he ousted the majority of the poorer citizens to
 be excluded altogether from the political franchise.³

By the strategus recruited in a former chapter,⁴ Ptolemaeus
 had obtained from the public assembly a guard which he had
 employed to acquire forcible possession of the acropolis. He thus

¹ *ἡ γαῖα τοῦ δήμου, ἀνεπαρκὴς, ἀκατα-
 ληκὴ θεοῦ, ἀνέκδοτος πατριῶν*.—
Aristophanes, Equites, 11.

I need hardly mention that the Pnyx
 was the place in which the Athenian
 public assemblies were held.

² *Plutarch (de Excessu Mithrid. c. 11, p. 200) is happy with Herodotus for
 reporting as body and persons a
 reference to the dissensions between
 the Alcibiades and Ptolemaeus; his
 sense records in that trouble, how-
 ever, had almost always to strengthen*

rather than to weaken the stability
 of the Republic.

³ *Plutarch, Pelopon. c. 17. Democ-
 ritus (de Stoicis dogmatibus lib. 1. § 10) says
 ἡ πόλις ἀνέκδοτος ἦν τοῦ δήμου, ἀκατα-
 ληκὴ θεοῦ, ἀνέκδοτος πατριῶν, ἡ
 γαῖα τοῦ δήμου, ἀνεπαρκὴς, ἀκατα-
 ληκὴ θεοῦ, ἀνέκδοτος πατριῶν, ἡ
 γαῖα τοῦ δήμου, ἀνεπαρκὴς, ἀκατα-
 ληκὴ θεοῦ, ἀνέκδοτος πατριῶν.*

⁴ *Plutarch, de Excessu Mithrid. c. 11, p. 200.*

⁵ *See the preceding notice, ch. vi.
 pp. 155—156.*

The daughter of Megacles, according to agreement, quickly became the wife of Pericles, but she bore him no children. It became known that her husband, having already adult sons by a former marriage, and considering that the Egyptian came rested upon all the *Alphabetic* family, did not intend that she should become a mother.¹ Megacles was so incensed at this behaviour, that he not only renounced his alliance with Pericles, but even made his peace with the third party, the adherents of Lycurgus, and assumed to themselves as advisers, that the despot was obliged to evacuate Attica. He retired to Eretria in Euboea, where he remained no less than ten years, employed in making preparations for a forcible return, and acquiring, even while in exile, a degree of influence much exceeding that of a private man. He not only lent valuable aid to Lycurgus of Sphacteria in constituting himself despot of that island, but possessed, we know not how, the means of rendering important service to different cities, Thbes in particular. They repaid him by large contributions of money toward his re-establishment; mercenaries were hired from Argos, and the Maron Lycurgus came home'd both with money and with troops. Thus equipped and aided, Pericles landed at Marathon in Attica. How the Athenian government had been conducted during his ten years' absence, we do not know; but the leaders of it permitted him to remain undisturbed at Marathon, and to assemble his partisans both from the city and from the country. It was not until he broke up from Marathon and had reached Pallis on his way to Athens, that they took the field against him. Moreover, their conduct, even when the two armies were near together, must have been either extremely negligent or corrupt; for Pericles found means to attack them unprepared, meeting their forces almost without resistance. In fact, the proceedings have altogether the air of a unassisted betrayal. For the defeated troops, though unprepared, are said to have dispersed and returned to their

and/or (Marathon, etc. etc. Marathon does not lead to the battle which he had heard of the manner in which the evacuation of Attica was known to him, but the general (disputed) opinion is that they were remarkable details, and they might have contained the story of

Pericles' death.

(Marathon, I. R. Pericles—
length of 10 years' exile.

Alcibiades Lycurgus, see Alcibiades, etc. etc. etc., and the studies with the last work of Alcibiades on the Trojan War; also Alcibiades, Platon, 2. 4. 1.

house forthwith, in obedience to the proclamation of Peleistraton, who marched on to Athens, and found himself a dead man ruler.¹

On this third successful entry, he took rigorous precautions for rendering his seat permanent. The Akmaneston and their immediate persons retained his wife; but he reared the children of those who remained and whose sentiments he suspected, as hostages for the behaviour of their parents, and placed them in Naxos under the care of Leptomena. Moreover he provided himself with a powerful body of Thracian mercenaries, paid by taxes levied upon the people;² and he was careful to contribute the favour of the gods by a purification of the sacred island of Delos. All the dead bodies which had been buried within sight of the temple of Apollo were exhumed and reinterred farther off. At this time the Delian festival—attended by the Asiatic Ionians and the Islanders, and with which Athens was of course peculiarly connected—must have been beginning to decline from its pristine magnificence; for the subjugation of the continental Ionian shore by Cyrus had been already achieved, and the power of Samos, though increased under the despot Polykrates, seems to have increased at the expense and to the ruin of the smaller Ionian islands. Partly from the same feelings which led to the purification of Delos—partly as an act of party revenge—Peleistraton caused the houses of the Akmaneston to be levelled with the ground, and the bodies of the deceased members of that family to be disinterred and cast out of the country.³

This third and last period of the rule of Peleistraton lasted several years, until his death in 357 B.C. It is said to have been so mild in its character, that he once even suffered himself to be cited for trial before the senate of Amorgos; yet as we know that he had to maintain a large body of Thracian mercenaries out of the funds of the people, we shall be inclined to construe this eulogium comparatively rather than positively. Theophrastus affirms that both he and his wife governed in a wise and virtuous spirit, levying from the people only an income-tax of five per cent.⁴ This is high praise

His strong government—his wife's management—his love of Delos.

and description of Peleistraton.

¹ Theophrast. l. vi.
² Theophrast. l. vi. Aristophanes is said to have, not, perhaps positively, the city itself, but to use the general expression

mercenary.
³ Theophrast. l. vi. Strabo, l. viii. p. 481.
⁴ For the statement of Theophrastus, see Aristotle, and Dr. Hartwell, *Classical*

the prodigious scale upon which the temple of Zeus Olympian at Athens was begun by Peisistratus—a scale much exceeding either the Parthenon or the temple of Athena Polias; both of which, nevertheless, were erected in later times, when the means of Athens were doubtless larger¹ and her disposition to demonstrative piety certainly no way diminished. It was left by him unfinished, nor was it ever completed until the Roman emperor Hadrian undertook the task. Moreover, Peisistratus introduced the greater Panathenæic festival, celebrated every four years, in the third Olympic year: the usual Panathenæic festival, hitherto called the Lesser, was still continued.

I have already noticed, at considerable length, the care which he bestowed in procuring full and correct copies of the Homeric poems, as well as in improving the recitation of them at the Panathenæic festival,—a proceeding, for which we owe him much gratitude, but which has been shown to be erroneously interpreted by various critics. He probably also collected the works of other poets—called by Aulus Gellius,² in language not well suited to the sixth century B.C., a library thrown open to the public. The service which he thus rendered must have been highly valuable at a time when writing and reading were not widely extended. His son Hipparchus followed up the same taste, taking pleasure in the society of the most eminent poets of the day,³—Semonides, Anacreon, and Iambe; not to mention the Athenian mystic Cinesarchus, who, though not pretending to the gift of prophecy himself, passed for the propagator and editor of the various prophecies ascribed to the ancient name of Menecles. The Pisistratids, well-versed in these prophecies, set great value upon them, and guarded their integrity so scrupulously, that Cinesarchus, being detected on one occasion in the act of interpolating them, was banished by Hipparchus in consequence.⁴ The statues of Heracles, erected by this prince or by his personal friends in various parts of Attica,⁵ and inscribed with short moral sentences, are extolled by the author of the *Historic Dialogue*

¹ *Strabo*, *Geogr.* v. 4. 4. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10.

² *Aulus Gellius*, *vi. 12*. *Aulus Gellius*, *vi. 12*. *Aulus Gellius*, *vi. 12*.

³ *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10.

⁴ *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10.

op. cit. viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10.

Strabo, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10.

Strabo, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10.

Strabo, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10. *Strabo*, *op. cit.* viii. 4. 10.

An insult thus publicly offered filled Harmodius with indignation, and still further consperated the feelings of Aristogiton. Both of them, resolving at all hazards to put an end to the despotism, concerted means for aggression with a few select associates. They awaited the festival of the Great Panathenæan, when the body of the citizens were accustomed to march up in armed procession, with spear and shield, to the acropolis; this being the only day on which an armed body could come together without suspicion. The conspirators appeared armed like the rest of the citizens, but carrying concealed daggers hidden.

They are
represented
all in P-
anathenæan
L.C. lit.

Harmodius and Aristogiton undertook with their own hands to kill the two Pistratidæ, while the rest promised to stand forward immediately for their protection against the foreign mercenaries; and though the whole number of parties engaged was small, they counted upon the spontaneous sympathies of the armed bystanders in an effort to regain their liberties, so soon as the blow should once be struck. The day of the festival having arrived, Hippas, with his foreign body-guard around him, was marshalling the armed citizens for procession, in the *Karmentides* without the gates, when Harmodius and Aristogiton approached with concealed daggers to execute their purpose. On coming near, they were thunderstruck to behold one of their fellow-conspirators talking familiarly with Hippas, who was of easy access to every man. They immediately concluded that the plot was betrayed. Expecting to be seized, and wrought up to a state of desperation, they resolved at least not to die without having revenged themselves on Hipparchus; whom they found within the city gates near the chapel called the *Lekhorion*, and immediately slew him. His attendant guards killed Harmodius on the spot; while Aristogiton, rescued for the moment by the surrounding crowd,

There is no positive reason to support the conclusion of Dr. Arnold, which seems moreover virtually dis-
countenanced by the narrative of Thucydides, who plainly describes the treatment of the young women as a shameful, unbecoming insult. And there existed any accessible ground of offence, even so late as the 19c. Arnold supposes, leading to the inference that the Pistratidæ could not act without exciting religious

indignation. Though this would hardly have appeared so strange to him, for it would have followed the death of a king, and being an insult upon the gods, the slaying of the original murderers might have been made to appear as an unbecoming tribute. I will add that Thucydides, though not mentioning the appearance in historical truth, is evidently well disposed to cast everything which, he is truly said to be aware of the Pistratidæ.

protection was not permanently kept up. He also entered into a war with Lampachos on the Asiatic side of the strait, but was unfortunate enough to fall into an ambuscade and become a prisoner. Nothing preserved his life except the immediate interference of Orosus king of Lydia, coupled with sternness manifestly addressed to the Lampachians, who found themselves compelled to release their prisoner. Mithridates had acquired much favour with Orosus, in what manner we are not told. He died suddenly some time afterwards, while his nephew Staugoros, who succeeded him, perished by assassination some time subsequent to the death of Ptolemaeus at Athens.¹

The expedition of Mithridates to the Chersonese must have occurred early after the first usurpation of Ptolemaeus, since even his imprisonment by the Lampachians happened before the rule of Orosus (348 B.C.). But it was not till much later—probably during the third and most powerful period of Ptolemaeus—that the latter undertook his expedition against Bysium in the Troad. This place appears to have fallen into the hands of the Haptyeniens: Ptolemaeus retook it,² and placed there his Haptyenian son Hagnostatus as despot. The Haptyeniens may have been subdued at this time (somewhere between 337—337 B.C.) not only by the strides of Persian conquest on the mainland, but also by the ruinous defeat which they suffered from Polykrates and the Samians.³ Hagnostatus maintained the place against various hostile attempts, throughout all the reign of Hippias, so that the Athenian possession in those regions comprehended at this period both the Chersonese and Bysium.⁴ To the former of the two, Hippias sent out Mithridates, nephew of the first Mithr., as governor after the death of his brother Staugoros. The new governor found much discontent in the peninsula, but succeeded in subduing it by entrapping and imprisoning the principal men in each town. He further took into his pay a regiment of five hundred mercenaries, and married Hagnostylis daughter of the Thracian king Orosus.⁵ It must have been about

Second
Mithridates
sent out
Mithridates
to the
Troad.

¹ Herodotus, vi. 101, 102.

² Herodotus, vi. 101. I have already said that I consider this as a different war from that on which the peninsular was engaged.

³ Herodotus, vi. 101.

⁴ Herodotus, vi. 101, 102, 103.

⁵ Herodotus, vi. 101—102. Cornelius J. refers to the life of Mithridates under the title of his biography the adventures of the

Delphic temple was set on fire and burnt. To repair this grave loss was an object of solicitude to all Greeks: but the outlay required was exceedingly heavy, and it appears to have been long before the money could be collected. The Amphiktyons decreed that one-fourth of the cost should be borne by the Delphians themselves, who found themselves so heavily taxed by such assessment, that they sent envoys throughout all Greece to collect subscriptions in aid, and received, among other donations, from the Greek settlers in Egypt twenty talents, besides a large present of silver from the Egyptian King Amasis: their munificent benefactor Crœsus fell a victim to the Persians in 546 B.C., so that his treasure was no longer open to them. The total sum required was three hundred talents (equal probably to about £112,500 sterling)¹—a prodigious amount to be collected from the dispersed Greek cities, who acknowledged no common sovereign authority, and among whom the proportion reasonable to ask from each was difficult to determine with satisfaction to all parties. At length however the money was collected, and the Amphiktyons were in a situation to make a contract for the building of the temple. The Alkmaeonids, who had been in exile ever since the third and final acquisition of power by Perikles, took the contract. In executing it, they not only performed the work in the best manner, but even went much beyond the terms stipulated: employing Parian marble for the fronsage where the material prescribed to them was coarse stone.² As was before remarked in the case of Perikles when he was in banishment, we are surprised to find exiles (whose property had been confiscated) so amply furnished with money, unless we

Such great and extensive aid to the Delphian temple.

The Amphiktyons would the temple was accomplished.

¹ Herodotus, l. vii. §. 275. I have taken the old talent of Macedonia as being fifteen minæ, which are 2,250 drachmæ in the ratio of 4 : 3. The inscription proves that the accounts of the temple were kept by the Amphiktyons on the Athenian scale of money: see *Corpus Inscrip. Græcæ*, pp. 1481, and *Revue*, *Myronides*, 18, 4.

² Herodotus, v. 48. The words of the Macedon would seem to imply that they only began to think of the expense of building the temple after the fall of

of Lysimachus, and a year or two before the extinction of Mithridates: a supposition which Herodotus, since this temple was built before such parts of building.

The inscription produced statements to Perikles, whereby that the Perikles would not the Delphian temple to be burnt, and also that they were at last disposed by the numerous aid of the Alkmaeonids (Philochorus, *Fragment*, 75, 14, 15) to give up the idea of building the temple after the fall of

are to suppose that Kleisthenes¹ inherited through his mother wealth independent of Athens, and deposited it in the temple of the Sardin Elck. But the fact is unquestionable, and they gained equal reputation throughout the Hellenic world for their liberal performance of so important an enterprise. That the erection took considerable time, we cannot doubt. It seems to have been finished, so far as we can conjecture, about a year or two after the death of Hipparchus—578 B.C.—more than thirty years after the conflagration.

To the Delphians, especially, the rebuilding of their temple on so superior a scale was the most essential of all services, and their gratitude towards the Alcmeonids was proportionally great. Partly through such a feeling, partly through pecuniary presents, Kleisthenes was thus enabled to work the oracle for political purposes, and to call forth the powerful arm of Sparta against Hippia. Whenever any Spartan presented himself to consult the oracle, either on private or public business, the answer of the priestess was always in one strain—"Athens must be libented." The constant repetition of that mandate at length extorted from the piety of the Lacedæmonians a reluctant compliance. Resentment for the god avenged their strong feeling of friendship towards the Periclestidae, and Anachimedes son of Astor was despatched by sea to Athens at the head of a Spartan force to expel them. On landing at Phalerum, however, he found them already forewarned and prepared, so well as further strengthened by one thousand horse specially demanded from their allies in Thessaly. Upon the plain of Phalerum this latter force was found peculiarly effective; so that the division of Anachimedes were driven back to their ships with great loss, and he himself slain.² The defeated opponent had probably been small, and his popular only provoked the Lacedæmonians to send a larger, under the command of their king Cleombrotus in

Griffiths
to the
Delphians
to build
them—their
greatest
from the
oracle
direction
to Sparta,
expelling
the repul-
sion of
Hippia.

See also
Griffiths
to the
Delphians.

¹ Herodot. v. 128; Cicero, de Leg. ii. 16. The temple here mentioned by Cicero, which, like very probably have been destroyed by an earthquake at the temple, might have been done before the time of the Persian conquest of

Griffiths—before the death of Hipparchus in 578 B.C., after which period the temple fell at once into a ruinous situation, and was soon afterwards taken the greatest calamities.

² Herodot. v. 128, 129.

perian, who on this occasion marched into Attica by land. On reaching the plain of Athens, he was assailed by the Thessalian mercenaries, but repelled them in so gallant a style that they at once laid off and returned to their native country; abandoning their allies with a faithlessness not unfrquent in the Thessalian character. Eleonereus marched on without farther resistance to Athens, where he found himself, together with the Alkmeonidae and the malcontent Athenians generally, in possession of the town. At that time there was no fortification except round the acropolis, into which Hippias retired, with his mercenaries and the citizens most faithful to him; having taken care to provision it well beforehand, so that it was not less secure against storms than against assault. He might have defied the besieging force, which was never prepared for a long blockade. Yet, not altogether confiding in his position, he tried to send his children by stealth out of the country; in which proceeding the children were taken prisoners. To procure their restoration, Hippias consented to all that was demanded of him, and withdrew from Attica to Sigisium in the Troad within the space of five days.

Thus fell the Pisistratid dynasty in B.C. 510, fifty years after the first usurpation of its founder.¹ It was put down through the aid of foreigners,² and those foreigners, too, wishing well to it in their hearts, though hostile from a mistaken feeling of divine injunction. Yet both the circumstances of its fall, and the course of events which followed, conspire to show that it possessed few attached friends in the country, and that the expulsion of Hippias was welcomed unanimously by the vast majority of Athenians. His family and chief partisans would accompany him into exile—probably in a matter of course, without requiring any formal sentence of condemnation. An altar was erected in the acropolis, with a column hard by, commemorating both the past iniquity of the deposed dynasty and the names of all its members.³

¹ Herodot. v. 62, 63.

² Thucyd. vi. 59, 60.

³ Thucyd. vi. 59. In B.C. 480, the Athenians, on learning that the Persians were about to invade the country, erected an altar to the goddess Athena, and a column to the memory of the fallen heroes.

In Thucyd. after mentioning the departure of Hippias, proceeds as

follows: "After his departure many severe measures were taken against his adherents, who agreed to have been for a long time afterwards a formidable party. They were punished or repressed, some by death, others by exile, or by the loss of their political privileges. The family of the tyrants

CHAPTER XXXI

GREEK AFFAIRS AFTER THE EXPULSION OF THE
PELOPONNESA—REVOLUTION OF KLEISTHENES AND
ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY AT ATHENS.

When Hippas disappeared the mercenary Thracian garrison, upon which he and his father before him had leaned for defence as well as for enhancement of authority. Kleomenes with his Lacedæmonian forces retired also, after staying only long enough to establish a personal friendship, productive subsequently of important consequences, between the Spartan king and the Athenian king. The Athenians were thus left to themselves, without any foreign interference to constrain them in their political arrangements.

It has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, that the Peloponnesia had for the most part preserved the form of the Solonian constitution. The nine archons, and the probouleutic or preconsidering Senate of Four Hundred (both numerically changed), still continued to subsist, together with occasional meetings of the people—or rather of such portion of the people as was comprised in the gentes, phratriæ, and four leek tribes. The timocratic classification of Solon (or quadriple-scale of income and allotmentment of political franchises according to it) also continued to subsist—but all within the tether and subservient to the purposes of the ruling family, who always kept one of their number, as real master, among the chief administrators, and always retained possession of the sceptre as well as of the mercenary force.

That restraining pressure being now removed by the expulsion of Hippas, the unsharped forms became at once clothed with freedom and reality. There appeared again, what Athens had not

known for thirty years, declared political parties, and persecuted opposition between two men as leaders—on one side, Ioannis von Tsander, a person of illustrious descent—on the other Klephts the Athinaid, not less illustrious, and possessing at this moment a claim on the gratitude of his countrymen as the most persisting as well as the most effective foe of the debased despots. In what manner such opposition was carried on, we are not told. It would seem to have been not altogether pacific; but at any rate, Klephts had the worst of it, and in consequence of his defeat (says the historian), "he took into partnership the people, who had been before excluded from everything."¹ His partnership with the people gave birth to the Athenian democracy; it was a real and important revolution.

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The political franchise, or the character of an Athenian citizen, both before and under Solon, had been confined to the primitive four Ionic tribes, each of which was an aggregate of so many close corporations or quasi-families—the *gentes* and the *phratries*. None of the residents in Attica, therefore, except those included in some *gens* or *phratry*, had any part in the political franchise. Such non-privileged residents were probably at all times numerous, and became more and more so by means of fresh settlers. Moreover they tended most to multiply in Athens and Paros, where immigrants would commonly establish themselves. Kleisthenes, breaking down the existing wall of privilege, imparted the political franchise to the excluded man. But this could not be done by striding them in new *gentes* or *phratries*, created in addition to the old. For the gentile tie was founded upon old faith and feeling which in the existing state of the Greek mind could not be suddenly conjured up as a bond of union for comparative strangers. It could only be done by disconnecting the franchise altogether from the Ionic tribes as well as from the *gentes* which constituted them, and by redistributing the population into new tribes with a character and purpose entirely political. Accordingly Kleisthenes abolished the four Ionic tribes, and created

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[illegible]

to have suspected a similar feeling where it had no real existence.

But the scope of Kilickhan's was something far more extensive. He abolished the four ancient tribes, not because they were Jews, but because they had become incommensurate with the existing condition of the Asian people, and because such abolition promised both for himself and for his political scheme new as well as hearty allies. And, indeed, if we study the circumstances of the case, we shall see very obvious reasons to suggest the proceeding. For more than thirty years—an entire generation—the old constitution had been a mere empty formality, working only as subservience to the reigning dynasty, and stripped of all real controlling power. We may be very sure, therefore, that both the Senate of Four Hundred and the popular assembly, divested of that free speech which imparted to them not only all their value but all their charm, had come to be of little public estimation, and were probably attended only by a few partisans. Under such circumstances, the difference between qualified citizens and men not so qualified—between members of the four old tribes and men not members—became during this period practically effaced. This in fact was the only species of good which a Oriental despotism ever seems to have done. It confounded the privileged and the non-privileged under one coercive authority common to both, so that the distinction between the two was not easy to revive when the despotism passed away. As soon as Hippias was expelled, the senate and the public assembly regained their efficiency; but had they been continued on the old footing, including none but members of the four tribes, these tribes would have been re-created with a privilege which in reality they had so long lost, that its revival would have seemed an obvious novelty, and the remaining population would probably not have submitted to it. If in addition we consider the political excitement of the moment—the restoration of one body of men from exile, and the departure of another body into exile—the outpouring of long-suppressed hatred, partly against those very forms by the corruption of which the despot had reigned—we shall see that prudence as well as patriotism dictated the adoption of an enlarged scheme of government. Kilickhan's had learnt some wisdom during his long exile; and as he probably continued for

some time after the introduction of his new constitution to be the chief adviser of his countrymen, we may consider their extraordinary success as a testimony to his prudence and skill, not less than to their courage and unanimity.

How does it seem unreasonable to give him credit for a more generous forward movement than what is implied in the literal account of Herodotus. Instead of being forced against his will to purchase popular support by proposing this new constitution, Kleisthenes may have proposed it before, during the discussions which immediately followed the retirement of Hippies; so that the rejection of it formed the ground of quarrel (and no other ground is mentioned) between him and Isagoras. The latter doubtless found sufficient support, in the existing senate and public assembly, to prevent it from being carried without an actual appeal to the people. His opposition to it, moreover, is not difficult to understand: for necessary as the change had become, it was not the less a shock to ancient *Atika* ideas. It entirely altered the very idea of a tribe, which now became an aggregation of demes, of gentes—of fellow-demote, not of fellow-gentile. It thus broke up those associations, religious, social, and political, between the whole and the parts of the old system, which operated powerfully on the mind of every old-fashioned Athenian. The patricians at Rome who composed the gentes and curie—and the plebs, who had no part in those corporations—formed for a long time two separate and opposing fractions in the same city, each with its own separate organization. Only by slow degrees did the plebs gain ground, while the political value of the patrician gens was long maintained alongside of and apart from the plebeian tribe. So too, in the Italian and German cities of the middle ages, the patrician families refused to part with their own separate political identity when the guilds grew up by the side of them; even though forced to recognize a portion of their power, they continued to be a separate fraternity, and would not submit to be represented alone, under an altered category and denomination, along with the traders who had grown into wealth and importance.¹ For the reform of

¹ In illustration of what is here said of the opposition of patrician, plebeian, and the members of the guilds to the destruction of these—not the

Such construction of the words however is more than *doubtful*, while the fact itself is *improbable*; partly because if the change of number had been as considerable as the difference between one hundred and one hundred and seventy-four, some positive evidence of it would probably be found — partly because Kiutshandé would indeed have a motive to render the amount of ethnic population nearly equal, but no motive to render the number of *clans* equal, in each of the ten tribes. It is well known how great is the force of local feeling, and how unfavorable are parallel or national boundaries. In the absence of proof to the contrary, therefore, we may reasonably suppose the number and circumscription of the *clans*, as found or modified by Kiutshandé, to have persisted afterwards with little alteration, at least until the increase in the number of the tribes.

There is another point, however, which is at once more certain, and more important to notice. The *clans* which Kiutshandé assigned to each tribe were in no case all adjacent to each other; and therefore the tribe, as a whole, did not correspond with any continuous portion of the territory, nor could it have any peculiar local interest, separate from the entire community. Such systematic avoidance of the factions arising out of neighborhood will appear to have been more especially necessary, when we recollect that the quarrels of the Pawnee, the Dakota, the Peleah, during the preceding century, had all been generated from local feud, though doubtless artfully fomented by individual ambition. Moreover it was only by this same precaution that the local preeminence of the city, and the formation of a city-interest distinct from that of the country, was averted; which could hardly have failed to arise had the city by itself constituted either one *clan* or one tribe. Kiutshandé distributed the city (or found it already distributed) into several *clans*, and those *clans* among several tribes; while Poncas and Nodjeron, each constituting a separate *clan*, were also assigned to different tribes; so that there was no local advantage either to Poncas

belonging with the same name. The Poncas also, with Poncas and with country, form the subject of various passages—Kassapa, *Correspond.* vol. 4, 4, or *Discours*—country—Indian party—Poncas,

Frontier, p. 334. B. *Discours* refers to the subject—Kassapa, vol. 4, 4, and *Discours* a *Discours*—country—Indian party—Poncas.

age of eighteen, and their adopted name at any time when presented and sworn to by the adopting citizen. The citizenship could only be granted by a public vote of the people, but wealthy non-free-men were enabled sometimes to evade this law and purchase admission upon the register of some poor man, probably by means of a fictitious adoption. At the meetings of the *demoi*, the register was called over, and it sometimes happened that some names were expunged, in which case the party thus disfranchised had an appeal to the popular judicature.¹ So great was the local administrative power, however, of these *demoi*, that they are described as the *substantia*,² under the Kleisthenian system, for the *Stratiotes* under the Solonian and ante-Solonian. The *Tritupoi* and *Stratiotes*, though nominally preserved, and the latter augmented in number from forty-eight to fifty, were characterized as of little public importance.

Elections preserved, but at the same time modified and expanded, all the main features of Idaho's political institutions; the public assembly or *Ekklesia*—the pre-existing senate composed of members from all the tribes—and the habit of moral election, as well as actual responsibility of magistrates, by and to the *Ekklesia*. The full value must now have been left of possessing such pre-existing institutions to build upon, at a moment of perplexity and disaster. But the *Klithamona Ekklesia* acquired new strength, and almost a new character, from the great increase of the number of citizens qualified to attend it; while the annually-changed senate, instead of being composed of four hundred members taken in equal proportion from each of the old four tribes, was enlarged to five hundred, taken equally from each of the new ten tribes. It now came before us, under the name of Senate of Five Hundred, as an active and indispensable body throughout the whole Aikman democracy: moreover the positive law seems to have begun (though the period of non-enactment cannot be definitely ascertained) of determining the

W. H. Kohnen, *Indy, Ind.* For P. Green, 4th Div. The system of International System Notation is instructive about class groupings of the numerical domain complex. Hierarchical, sequential, and cyclic, the latter being

¹ Lenzel, Fragment der Nagelsil., ed.
Hermann — JPer. vring. II. 60, p. 8.
Sollt. ad Aristophan. Voss. 77: Hespero-
phonia. 9. Hesperos — Hesperopont;
Hesperia. 9. Hesperus.

names of the senators by lot. Both the senate thus constituted and the public assembly were far more popular and vigorous than they had been under the original arrangement of Solon.

The new constitution of the tribes, as it led to a change in the annual senate, so it transformed no less directly the military arrangements of the state, both as to soldiers and as to officers. The citizens called upon to serve in arms were now marshalled according to tribes—each tribe having its own *tanarcha* as officers for the hoplites, and its own *phylarch* at the head of the horsemen. Moreover there were now created, for the first time, ten *stratēg* or generals, one from each tribe; and two *hipparcha*, for the supreme command of the horsemen. Under the prior Athenian constitution it appears that the command of the military force had been vested in the third archon or polemarch, no stratēg then existing. Even after the stratēg had been created, under the Kleisthenian constitution, the polemarch still retained a great right of command along with them—as we are told at the battle of Marathon, where Kallimachos the polemarch not only enjoyed an equal vote in the council of war along with the ten stratēg, but even occupied the post of honour on the right wing.¹ The ten generals, scarcely changed, are thus (like the ten tribes) a fruit of the Kleisthenian constitution, which was at the same time powerfully strengthened and protected by this remodelling of the military form. The functions of the generals became more extensive as the democracy advanced, so that they were to have acquired gradually not merely the direction of military and naval affairs, but also that of the foreign relations of the city generally—while the nine archons, including the polemarch, were by degrees lowered down from that full executive and judicial competence which they had once enjoyed, to the simple ministry of police and preparatory justice. Enriched upon by the stratēg on one side, they were also restricted in efficiency, on the other side, by the rise of the popular *dikasteria* or numerous jury-courts. We may be sure that these popular *dikasteria* had not been permitted to meet or to act under the direction of the *Prætoribus*, and that the judicial business of the city must then have been conducted partly by the senate of *Areopagus*, partly by

Change of military arrangement in Athens. The first stratēg or general.

¹ Herodotus, vi. 120-121.

the archons; perhaps with a mutual responsibility of the latter, at the end of their year of office, to an acquiescent Ekklesia. And if we even assume it to be true, as some writers contend, that the habit of direct popular jurisdiction (over and above this mutual trial of responsibility) had been partially introduced by Solon, it must have been discontinued during the long seclusion extended by the superstitious dynasty. But the revival of

The judicial
authority of
archons—
as before
—which
quantity
of trials
into justice
proceeding
from the
people, the
Ekklesia,
or Ekklesia.

popular spirit, which lent force to Kleisthenes, doubtless carried the people into direct action as jurors in the aggregate Ekklesia, not less than as voters in the Ekklesia; and the change was thus begun which contributed to degrade the archons from their primitive character as judges, into the lower function of preliminary examinations and presidents of a jury. Such convocation of numerous jurors, beginning first

with the aggregate body of sworn citizens above thirty years of age, and subsequently dividing them into separate bodies or panels for trying particular cases, became gradually more frequent and more systematized; until at length, in the time of Perikles, it was made to carry a small pay, and stood out as one of the most prominent features of Athenian life. We cannot particularize the different steps whereby such final development was attained, and whereby the judicial competence of the archon was cut down to the mere power of inflicting a small fine. But the first steps of it are found in the revolution of Kleisthenes, and it seems to have been commenced after the battle of Plataeæ. Of the function exercised by the nine archons, as well as by many other magistrates and official persons at Athens, in conducting a dikastery or jury-court, bringing on cases for trial, and presiding over the trial—a function constituting one of the marks of superior magistracy, and called the *Hegemonia* or presidency of a dikastery—I shall speak more at length hereafter. At present I wish merely to bring to view the increased and increasing sphere of action on which the people entered at the memorable time of affairs now before us.

The financial affairs of the city underwent at this epoch an

Financial
arrangements
made.

complete a change as the military. The appointment of magistrates and officers by lot, one from each tribe, seems to have become the ordinary practice. A board

of war, called *Apoklita*, were invested with the supreme management of the archiepiscopate, dealing with the contractors as to the portions of the revenue which were farmed, receiving all the taxes from the collectors, and disbursing them under competent authority. Of this board the first nomination is expressly recorded to Kinschoula,¹ as a substitute for certain persons called *Ekkliteta*, who had performed the same function before and who were now retained only for subordinate services. The duties of the *Apoklita* were afterwards limited to receiving the public income, and paying it over to the tax treasurers of the golden *Adelphi*, by whom it was kept in the name chamber of the *Prothoseta*, and disbursed as needed; but this more complicated arrangement did not be referred to Kinschoula. From
 his time forward, too, the Senate of Five Hundred
 steps far beyond its original duty of proposing motions

Senate of
 Five
 Hundred.

for the discussion of the *Ekklita*. It embraces, besides, a large circle of administrative and general superintendence, which hardly admits of any definition. Its sittings become constant, with the exception of special holidays. The year is distributed into ten portions called *Prytanies*—the fifty senators of each tribe taking by turns the duty of constant attendance during one *prytany*, and receiving during that time the title of *The Prytanos*: the order of precedence among the tribes in these duties was annually determined by lot. In the ordinary *Attic* year of twelve lunar months, or 354 days, six of the *prytanies* contained thirty-five days, four of them contained thirty-six: in the intercalated years of thirteen months, the number of days was thirty-eight and thirty-nine respectively. Moreover a further subdivision of the *prytany* into five periods of seven days each, and of the fifty tribe-senators into five bodies of ten each, was recognised. Each body of ten presided in the senate for one period of seven days, drawing lots every day among their number for a new chairman called *Ephorata*, to whom during his day of office were confided the keys of the acropolis and the treasury, together with the city seal. The remaining senators, not belonging to the presiding tribe, might of course attend if they chose. But the attendance of nine among them, one from each of the remaining

¹ *Thesphroskila*, v. *Thesphros*.

also taken, was imperatively necessary to create a valid speaking, and to ensure a constant representation of the collective people.

During those later times known to us through the great orators, the *Ekklesia*, or formal assembly of the citizens, was convoked four times regularly during each prytany, or otherwise if assembly required—usually by the senate, though the strategoi had also the power of convoking it by their own authority. It was presided over by the prytanes, and questions were put to the vote by their *Eponetæ*, or *cleruchs*. But the nine representatives of the non-prytanising tribes were always present as a matter of course, and were indeed in the days of the empire so long acquired to themselves the direction of it, together with the right of putting questions for the vote¹—acting aside wholly or partially the fifty prytanes. When we carry our attention back, however, to the times of the *Ekklesia*, as first expressed by Kleisthenes (I have already remarked that expressions of the Athenian constitution are too apt to neglect the distinction of times, and to suppose that what was the practice between 450—430 B.C. had been always the practice), it will appear probable that he provided one regular meeting in each prytany, and no more: going to the senate and the strategoi power of summoning special meetings if needed, but convoking one *Ekklesia* during each prytany, or two in the year, as a regular necessity of state. How often the ancient *Ekklesia* had been convoked during the interval between Solon and Pericles, we cannot exactly say—probably but seldom during the year. Under the Periclean régime, its convocation had dwindled down into an imperative formality. Hence the re-establishment of it by Kleisthenes, not merely with plebeian determining powers, but also under full senate and preparation of matters beforehand, together with the best selection for solemnly presiding, was in itself a revolution impressive to the mind of every Athenian citizen. To render the *Ekklesia* efficient, it was indispensable that its meetings should be both frequent and free. Men were thus trained to the duty both of speakers and hearers, and each man, while he felt that he attended his

¹ See the valuable treatise of Demosthenes, *De Rep. Aristocr.* 27—28; also, *De Epistula*, *procurat.* also *Politic.* c. 14. See also, *Dem. Phil.* vol. vi. 1301.

claim of infallibility on the decision, identified his own safety and happiness with the vote of the majority, and became sanctified with the notion of a sovereign authority which he neither could nor ought to resist. This was an idea new to the Athenian law-courts. With it came the forbidding sanctifying firm speech and equal homogeneity which no Athenian citizen ever afterwards heard unmarred : together with that sentiment of the entire commonwealth as one and indivisible, which always prevailed, though it did not suppress, the local and national specialities.

It is not too much to say that these patriotic and moulding impulses were a new product in the Athenian mind, to which nothing analogous occurs even in the case of Solon. They were in effect in part a rebuke by the strong reaction against the Pericleists, but still more by the fact that the opposing leader, Kleisthenes, turned this necessary feeling to the best possible account, and gave to it a vigorous perpetuity, as well as a well-defined positive object, by the popular elements conspicuous in his constitution. His name ranks less high in history than we should expect, because he passed for the mere executor of Solon's scheme of government after it had been overthrown by Pericles. Probably he himself professed this object, since it would facilitate the success of his propositions, and if we confine ourselves to the letter of the case, the fact is in a great measure true, since the general senate and the *Ekklesia* are both Solonian ; but both of them under his reform were clothed in totally new circumstances, and revolved into gigantic proportions. How vigorous was the burst of Athenian enthusiasm, showing instantaneously the position of Athens among the powers of Greece, we shall here presently find the lips of Kleisthenes, and shall find still more conspicuously marked in the fate of his history.

But it was not only the people formally installed in their *Ekklesia*, who received from Kleisthenes the real attributes of sovereignty—it was by him also that the people were first called into direct action as *debates* or *juries*. I have already remarked that the custom may be said, to a certain limited sense, to have begun in the time of Solon, since that lawgiver invested the popular assembly with the power of pronouncing the judgment of

Kleisthenes the real founder of the Athenian democracy

Political organization of the Athenian people—first organized on important.

accountability upon the archons after their year of office. Here again the building, afterwards so spacious and stately, was erected on a Solonian foundation, though it was not itself Solonian. That the popular *dikasteria*, in the elaborate form in which they existed from Pericles downward, were introduced all at once by Kleisthenes, it is impossible to believe. Yet the steps by which they were gradually wrought out are not distinctly discoverable. It would rather seem, that at first only the aggregate body of citizens above thirty years of age exercised judicial functions, being specially convoked and sworn in for portions accused of public crimes, and when so employed bearing the name of the *Helias*, or *Heliasts*; private offences and disputes between man and man being still determined by individual magistrates in the city, and a considerable judicial power still residing in the Senate of Areopagus. There is reason to believe that this was the state of things established by Kleisthenes, which afterwards came to be altered by the greater extent of judicial duty gradually accruing to the *Heliasts*, so that it was necessary to withdraw the collective *Helias*.

According to the tradition, so practised in the times best known, 6000 citizens above thirty years of age were annually selected by lot out of the whole number, 600 from each of the ten tribes: 5000 of these citizens were arranged in ten panels or decuries of 500 each, the remaining 1000 being reserved to fill up vacancies in case of death or absence among the former. The whole 6000 took a prescribed oath, seated in very striking words: after which every man received a ticket inscribed with his own name as well as with a letter designating his decury. When there were causes or crimes ripe for trial, the *Thesmothetai* or six inferior archons determined by lot, first, which decuries should sit, according to the number wanted—next, in which court, or under the presidency of what magistrate, the decury B or E should sit, so that it could not be known beforehand in what cause each would be judge. In the number of persons who actually attended and sat, however, there seems to have been much variety, and sometimes two decuries sat together.¹ The

¹ See in particular on this subject, most of the same author, *Antiq. Res. de l'Assemblée Nationale*, De l'Assemblée. *Paris, 1793*, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

arrangement have described, we need recollect, in plain, is an acknowledgment that even when the *ekklesia* received a regular pay, after every day's sitting; and it can hardly have long continued without that good free, which was not restored before the time of Pericles. Each of these measures during his jurisdiction was called the *Hekatomia*—name which belongs properly to the collective assembly of the people; the collective assembly having been itself the original jurisdiction. I conceive that the process of distributing this collective assembly or *Hekatomia* into sections of jurors for judicial duty may have begun, under one form or another soon after the reform of Kleisthenes, since the direct interference of the people in public affairs would more and more increase. But it could only have been carried by degrees into that constant and systematic service which the pay of Pericles called forth at last in completion. Under the last mentioned system the judicial competence of the *archoi* was annulled, and the third section or polemarch withdrawn from all military functions. But this had not been yet done at the time of the battle of Marathon, where Kallimachos the polemarch not only commanded along with the strategoi, but enjoyed a sort of pre-eminence over them: nor had it been done during the year after the battle of Mantineia, in which Aristokleis was arbiter—for the magisterial decisions of Aristokleis formed one of the principal foundations of his honourable surname, the Just.²

With this question as to the comparative extent of judicial power vested by Eleutherius in the popular assembly and the archons, are in reality connected two others in Athenian constitutional law: relating first, to the citizenship of all citizens

Verfassung, part 2, ed. by G. H. Meyer, J. Blum and R. Schmitt, 2nd edition (Frankfurt, 1987), p. 102-103.

The views of Spilhaus, reported by the authors of the Johnson paper, have been widely criticized, but, in some circles, by F. E. Ingelman of the Northern Illinois and a Wisconsin Chemist, Chicago, Ill.

Two or three of these diaphanous, sparkling, ice-cream-colored stones of the shape, and the color of the facets to which, during that particular year he subjected, he's been steadily since we meet at home.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1039-1043.

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¹ P. J. H. J. van der Vliet, J. T. M. de Vries, and J. H. M. M. van der Vliet.

never under any circumstances be applied to those posts where special competence, and a certain measure of efficiency personal only by a few, were indispensable; nor was it ever applied throughout the whole history of democratic Athens to the strategoi or generals, who were always elected by show of hands of the assembled citizens. Accordingly, we may regard it as certain, that at the time when the archons first came to be chosen by lot, the superior and responsible duties were attached to that office had been, or were in course of being, detached from it, and transferred either to the popular dikasts or to the ten elected strategoi: so that there remained to these archons only a routine of police and administration, important indeed to the state, yet such as could be executed by any citizen of average industry, diligence, and capacity—at least there was no obvious disability in thinking so; while the Dekrarchy excluded from the office was of notoriously dissolute life, even after they might have drawn the successful lot. Perikles,¹ though chosen strategos year after year successively, was never archon; and it may be doubted whether men of first-rate talents and ambition often gave in their names for the office. To those of smaller aspirations² it was doubtless a source of importance, but it imposed troublesome labours, gave no pay, and entailed a certain degree of peril upon any archon who might have given offence to powerful men, when he came to pass through the trial of accountability which followed immediately upon his year of office. There was little to make the office desirable, either to very poor men, or to very rich and ambitious men; and between the meddling persons who gave in their names, any one might be taken without great practical mischief, always assuming the two guarantees of the Dekrarchy before and accountability after office. This was the qualification—in my opinion a mistaken conclusion, and such as

no disqualifying citizens, potent law debts magnanimous service have in category. Justice: none that, abstract, direct justice—in a, sufficient, equal. Of these last, however, justice is, not, not, 1, do justice, the abstract justice.

The employment of the lot, as Aristotle remarks, justice required. Accountability of all citizens to office, though, the common view, not held good—the latter that not of necessity

imply the former. Now as we have that necessary accountability did not become the law of Athens until after the battle of Plataeæ, so we may conclude that the employment of the lot had no place before that epoch, and no place after the introduction of democracy.

¹ Plutarch, Perikles, c. 2-12.

² See a famous statue with epigram in Pisa, *Supplément*, t. ii. p. 175 B.

would find no favour at present—in which the democratic *Altheia* were protected by their strenuous desire to exclude the chances of office for rich and poor. But these measures seem to have been suggested by a partial enforcement of the lot to the choice of some offices—especially the archons, as the primitive chief magistracy of the state—without applying it to all or to the most responsible and difficult. Hardly would they have applied it to the archons, if it had been indispensably necessary that these magistrates should retain their original *varyn* as the duty of judging disputes and condemning offenders.

* I think therefore that these three points—1. The opening of the post of archon to all citizens indiscriminately; 2. The choice of archons by lot; 3. The diminished range of the archon's duties and responsibilities, through the extension of those belonging to the popular courts of justice on the one hand and to the strategy on the other—are all connected together, and must have been simultaneous, or nearly simultaneous, in the time of introduction: the movement of universal admissibility to office certainly not coming after the other two, and probably coming a little before them.

Now in regard to the eligibility of all Athenians indiscriminately to the office of archon, we find a clear and positive testimony as to the time when it was first introduced. Plutarch tells us¹ that the oligarchical,² but high-principled, Aristide was himself the proposer of this constitutional change, shortly after the battle of Plataeæ, with the consequent expulsion of the Persians from Greece, and the return of the refugee Athenians to their ruined city. Scarcely has it happened in the history of mankind that rich and poor have been so completely squashed as among the population of Athens in that marvellous expatriation and heroic struggle; nor are we at all surprised to hear that the mass of the citizens, coming back with freshly-kindled patriotism as well as with the consciousness that their country had only been recovered by the equal efforts of all, would no longer submit to be legally degraded from any office of state. It was on this occasion

Defeated
citizens,
after a
series of
victories
to the
oligarchical
—and
introduced
among them
the basis
of freedom.

¹ Plutarch, *pericles*, 33.

² He at least the supporter of the aristocracy; Aristide himself was called by the contemporaries of Pericles.

The choice of the strategy remained even afterwards upon the footing on which Aristarchus then placed it; but the lot for the choice of archon must have been introduced shortly after his proposition of universal eligibility, and in consequence too of the same rule of democratic feeling — introduced as a further restriction, because the poor citizen, though he had become eligible, was nevertheless not elected. And at the same time, I imagine, that chaotic distribution of the Helles, or aggregate body of dikasts or jurors, into separate panels or divisions for the decision of judicial matters, was first reorganized. It was this change that stole away from the archons so important a part of their previous jurisdiction: it was this change that Perikles more fully commemorated by awarding pay to the dikasts.

But the present is not the time to enter into the modifications which Athens underwent during the generation after the battle of Plataea. They have been here briefly noticed for the purpose of connecting back, in the absence of direct evidence, to Athens as

between
between
some men
in Athens
and the
political
condition
of Athens
after
Plataea.

it stood in the generation before that memorable battle, after the return of Kleisthenes. The reform, though highly democratical, stopped short of the mature democracy which prevailed from Perikles to Demosthenes, in three ways especially, among various others; and it is therefore sometimes considered by the later writers as an aristocratical constitution:¹—1.

It still recognized the archons as judges to a considerable extent, and the third archon as polemarch or joint military commander along with the strategy. 2. It retained them as elected annually by the body of citizens, not as chosen by lot.² 3. It still excluded

captivity, the twelve councils with the polemarch remained all this period of government. These councils were constituted by one hundred members chosen by lot among the people, "democratical" elements. "Constitutional" in spirit, however, for when a case occurred, it was deliberated on by the dikasts, who were not members of the council. The whole panel retired to the tribunals. The popular element was the predominant one, "democratical" in character, and "constitutional" in spirit. The polemarch was elected annually by the body of citizens, not as chosen by lot. 3. It still excluded

captivity, the twelve councils with the polemarch remained all this period of government. These councils were constituted by one hundred members chosen by lot among the people, "democratical" elements. "Constitutional" in spirit, however, for when a case occurred, it was deliberated on by the dikasts, who were not members of the council. The whole panel retired to the tribunals. The popular element was the predominant one, "democratical" in character, and "constitutional" in spirit. The polemarch was elected annually by the body of citizens, not as chosen by lot. 3. It still excluded

¹ Aristotle, *Politya*, 2. 12, c. 4, 1271a. 12. 1271b. 12. 1271c. 12. 1271d. 12. 1271e. 12. 1271f. 12. 1271g. 12. 1271h. 12. 1271i. 12. 1271j. 12. 1271k. 12. 1271l. 12. 1271m. 12. 1271n. 12. 1271o. 12. 1271p. 12. 1271q. 12. 1271r. 12. 1271s. 12. 1271t. 12. 1271u. 12. 1271v. 12. 1271w. 12. 1271x. 12. 1271y. 12. 1271z. 12. 1272a. 12. 1272b. 12. 1272c. 12. 1272d. 12. 1272e. 12. 1272f. 12. 1272g. 12. 1272h. 12. 1272i. 12. 1272j. 12. 1272k. 12. 1272l. 12. 1272m. 12. 1272n. 12. 1272o. 12. 1272p. 12. 1272q. 12. 1272r. 12. 1272s. 12. 1272t. 12. 1272u. 12. 1272v. 12. 1272w. 12. 1272x. 12. 1272y. 12. 1272z. 12. 1273a. 12. 1273b. 12. 1273c. 12. 1273d. 12. 1273e. 12. 1273f. 12. 1273g. 12. 1273h. 12. 1273i. 12. 1273j. 12. 1273k. 12. 1273l. 12. 1273m. 12. 1273n. 12. 1273o. 12. 1273p. 12. 1273q. 12. 1273r. 12. 1273s. 12. 1273t. 12. 1273u. 12. 1273v. 12. 1273w. 12. 1273x. 12. 1273y. 12. 1273z. 12. 1274a. 12. 1274b. 12. 1274c. 12. 1274d. 12. 1274e. 12. 1274f. 12. 1274g. 12. 1274h. 12. 1274i. 12. 1274j. 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if they considered him as polemarch at the head of the right wing of the army, or as an arcton administering justice.

A further difference between the constitution of Solon and that of Kleisthenes is to be found in the position of *Arctontes*. The arctons of Arctontes. Under the former, that senate had been the principal body in the state, and Solon had even enlarged its powers; under the latter, it must have been treated at first as an encumbrance and kept down. For as it was composed only of all the past arctons, and as during the preceding thirty years every arcton had been a creature of the Peisistratids, the *Arctontes* collectively must have been both hostile and alien to Kleisthenes and his party—perhaps a fraction of its members might even retire into exile with Hippasus. Its influence must have been sensibly lessened by the change of party, until it came to be gradually filled by fresh arctons springing from the bosom of the Kleisthenian constitution. Now during this important interval, the new-modelled senate of Five Hundred and the popular assembly stepped into that vacancy which they never afterwards lost. From the time of Kleisthenes forward, the Arctontes cease to be the chief and prominent power in the state. Yet they are still considerable; and when the second fall of the democratic side took place, after the battle of Platan, they became the focus of that which was then considered as the party of oligarchical reaction. I have already remarked that the arctons during the intermediate time (about 508–477 B.C.) were all elected by the Ekklesia, not chosen by lot, and that the fourth or poorest and most numerous class on the census were by law their ineligible; while elections at Athens, even when every citizen, without exception was so elected and eligible, had a natural tendency to fall upon men of wealth and station. We thus see how it happened that the past arctons, when called in the senate of Arctontes, infused into that body the sympathies, prejudices, and interests of the richer class. It was this which brought them into conflict with the more democratical party headed by Perikles and Ephialtes, in those warlike portions of the Kleisthenian constitution had come to be decreed as too much tainted with oligarchy.

One other remarkable institution, directly united to Kleisthenes, yet destined to be severed—the *ostracism*; upon

magistrate was the thing of all others most dreaded, and where fixed laws, with trial and defence as preliminaries to punishment, were conceived by the ordinary citizen as the guarantee of his personal security and as the pride of his moral condition—the system of such an exceptional power presented serious difficulty. If we transport ourselves to the times of Cleisthenes, immediately after the expulsion of the Peisistratids, when the working of the democratic machinery was as yet untried, we shall find this difficulty at its maximum. But we shall also find the necessity of meeting such a power somewhere absolutely imperative. For the great Athenian nobles had yet to learn the lesson of respect for any constitution. Their past history had exhibited continued struggles between the armed factions of Megakles, Isagoras, and Pericles, not done after a time by the supreme force and authority of the latter; and though Kleisthenes, the son of Megakles, might be firmly disposed to renounce the example of his father and to act as the faithful citizen of a fixed constitution, he would have but too well that the sons of his father's companions and rivals would follow his ambitious purposes without any regard to the limits imposed by law, if ever they acquired sufficient pretensions to present a fair prospect of success. Moreover, when any two candidates for power, with such restless dispositions, rose into a bitter personal rivalry, the motives to each of them, arising as well out of fear as out of ambition, to put down his opponent at any cost to the constitution, might well become irresistible, unless some impartial and disinterested interference could arrest the strife in time. "If the Athenians were wise (Aristotle is reported to have said) in the bright and peril of his parliamentary struggle with Themistokles, they would cast both Themistokles and me into the bastion."¹ And whoever reads the sad narrative of the Korymboson mission, in the third book of Thucydides, together with the collection of the historian upon

Foot-
notings
of this
and the
preceding
chapter.

¹ Thucyd. *op. cit.* c. 2.
Thucydides thus says of the
fact that he had spoken of the fact.
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It will raise the gradual imperiousness of these party leads, beginning even under democratic forms, until at length they break down the barriers of public as well as of private morality.

Against this danger of internal weakness Keweenaw had to protect the democratic constitution—first, by throwing its problems in their way and rendering it difficult for them to procure the requisite support; next, by eliminating those before any radical projects were ripe for execution. To do either the one or the other, it was necessary to provide such a constitution as would not only constitute the good-will, but lead to the permanent attachment, of the mass of citizens, inasmuch that not even any considerable minority should be deliberately induced to alter it by force. It was necessary to create in the institutions, and through

them to turn upon the leading institutions over, that race and differentiation which we may term a constitutional morality—a permanent reverence for the forms of the constitution, enforcing obedience to the authorities acting under and within those forms, yet combined with the habit of open speech, of action subject only to definite legal control, and unrestrained exercise of those very authorities as to all their public acts—combined, too, with a perfect confidence in the bosom of every citizen, amidst the bitterness of party contest, that the forms of the constitution will be not less sacred in the eyes of his opponents than in his own. This co-existence of freedom and self-imposed restraint—of obedience to authority with unrestrained exercise of the persons exercising it—may be found in the aristocracy of England (since about 1800) as well as in the democracy of the American United States; and because we are familiar with it, we are apt to suppose it a natural condition; though there seem to be few societies more difficult to establish and diffuse among a community, judging by the experience of history. We may see how imperfectly it exists at this day in the Great Cantons; while the many violences of the first French Revolution illustrate, among various other lessons, the fatal efforts arising from its absence, even among a people high in the scale of intelligence. Yet the diffusion of such constitutional morality, not merely among the majority of any community, but through-

not its whole, is the indispensable condition of a government at once free and powerful; since even any powerful and distant majority may render the working of free institutions impracticable, without being strong enough to ensure security for themselves. Nothing has thus necessary, or so overwhelming a majority as to be tantamount to unanimity, on the cardinal point of respecting constitutional forms, even by those who do not wholly approve of them, can render the achievement of political freedom hopeless, and yet expose all the authorities in the state to the full force of pacific criticism.

At the epoch of Kleisthenes, which, by a remarkable coincidence, is the same as that of the reforms at Rome, such constitutional morality, if it existed anywhere else, had certainly no place at Athens; and the first creation of it in any particular society must be esteemed an interesting historical fact. By the spirit of his reforms,—equal, popular, and unprejudiced, far beyond the previous experience of Athenians—he secured the hearty attachment of the body of citizens. But from the first generation of leading men, under the ancient democracy, and with such precedents as they had to look back upon, no self-imposed limits to ambition could be expected. Accordingly, Kleisthenes had to find the means of eliminating beforehand any one about to transgress these limits, so as to escape the necessity of putting him down afterwards, with all that bloodshed and reaction, in the midst of which the free working of the constitution would be suspended at least, if not irreversibly extinguished. To acquire such influence as would render him dangerous under democratical forms, a man must stand in evidence before the public, so as to afford some reasonable means of judging of his character and purposes. Now the security which Kleisthenes provided was to call in the positive judgment of the citizens respecting his future progress purely and simply, so that they might not remain too long neutral between two formidable political rivals—present in a certain way to the Solonian proclamation against ventuality in a military, as I have already remarked in a former chapter. He incorporated in the constitution itself the principle of privilege (to employ the Roman phrase, which signifies, not a positive favour granted to any one, but a positive inconvenience imposed), yet only under

perhaps
such a variety
of the
constitution.

to the mere chance of exile. It was not likely to be invoked at all, therefore, until desperation had proceeded as far as to render both parties ineligible to this chance—the precise subject of the growing intensest hostility, which the ostracism prevented from coming to a head. Nor could it even then be resorted to, unless a case was shown to convince the most neutral portion of the senate and the *ekklesia*; moreover, after all, the *ekklesia* did not itself ostracize, but a *lotus* day was named, and the whole body of the citizens were solemnly invited to vote. In use in this way that security was taken not only for making the ostracism effective in protecting the constitution, but to hinder it from being employed for any other purpose. We must remember that it exercised its inhibitory influence not merely on those occasions when it was actually employed, but by the mere knowledge that it might be employed, and by the restraining effect which that knowledge produced on the conduct of the great men. Again, the ostracism, though essentially of an exceptional nature, was yet an exception sustained and limited by the constitution itself, so that the citizen, in giving his ostracizing vote, did not in any way depart from the constitution or lose his reverence for it. The law placed before him,—“Is there any man whom you think vitally dangerous to the state? if so, whom?”—though vague, was yet ruled directly and legally. Had there been no ostracism, it might probably have been raised both indirectly and illegally, on the occasion of some special imputed crime of a suspected political leader, when accused before a court of justice—a perversion involving all the mischief of the ostracism, without its protective benefits.

Care was taken to direct the ostracism of all painful consequences except what was inseparable from exile. This is not one of the least proofs of the wisdom with which it was devised. Most certainly it never deprived the public of candidates for political influence; and when we consider the small amount of individual evil which it inflicted—evil too diminished, in the case of Klonas and Aristocles, by a reactionary sentiment which augmented their subsequent popularity after exile—our remarks will be quite sufficient to offer in the way of justification. First, it completely produced its intended effect; for the

Demosthenes
intended as
a political
measure
in the first
instance
—the
ostracism
deprived
none.

democracy grew up from slavery to freedom without a single attempt to overthrow it by force—a result upon which no reflecting contemporary of Kleisthenes could have ventured to call *slave*. Next, through such tranquil working of the democratic forces, a constitutional monarchy sprang sufficiently complete was produced among the leading Athenians, to enable the people after a certain time to dispense with that exceptional monarchy which the situation offered.¹ To the ancient democracy it was absolutely indispensable: in the growing, pre-medieval, democracy it was arbitrary; but the full-grown democracy both could and did stand without it. The criticism passed upon Hippokleides, about ninety years after Kleisthenes, was the last instance of its employment. And even then can hardly be considered as a serious instance: it was a trick concerted between two dissipated Athenians (Xixios and Aiklesides) to turn to their own political account a power already coming to be antiquated. No wonder such a measure have been possible, if the contemporary Athenian citizens had been penetrated with the same serious feeling of the value of democracy as its original founders, so had been more entertained by their fathers and grandfathers. Between Kleisthenes and Hippokleides, we hear of about ten different persons having been banished by ostracism. First of all, Hipparchos of the Same Clanship, the son of Charmos, a relative of the recently expelled Perakleides despite,² then Aristides, Themistokles, Klesias, and Themistokles of Melitis.

It is not necessary to then restrict the future policy options of the Government of the Netherlands, or of other oil-importing states (United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland) during the coming years of non-privatization. We will allow the petroleum and coal industries. Perhaps as these industries were brought about by technological advances in any one or two years, both of them grew out of the environmental and energy, or defense in the later period of the great war years.

4. *Lychnis* (Pursh) B. & A. seems to recognize the political economy of the territory, as opposed to the obvious superiority of males, females, & young, to distinguish between less satisfactory of food and sheltered and open principles of economy only. Some of the most important features of

the part of the service staff. We go on the shipper's website to find out how many of us have to do direct work with the service team, though apparently there is not in this regard, but that the direct number does not make sense, however, according to the statistics, I suppose a small number of people are not.

The first knowledge in business, that the entrepreneur must, is that he or she is responsible for his or her actions, as he or she is not a part of the organization, but a part of the organization. And if this statement is done, then the entrepreneur must be able to accept the responsibility. (Chandler, 1962, p. 13)

These findings of the present study have important implications for the development of the theory of the role of the family in the development of the child.

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all of them concerned political leaders: also Aristobolus and Megacles (the paternal and maternal grandfathers of the distinguished Aristobolus), and Kallias, belonging to another eminent family at Athens;² lastly, Demetrius, the philosopher of Pericles in poetry and music, and eminent for his acuteness in philosophy. In this last case comes out the vulgar side of humanity, uneducated as well as democratical; for with both, the process of philosophy and the persons of philosophers are wont to be alike unpopular. Even Kleanthes's himself is said to have been ostracised under his own law, and Xenoklypeus;³ but both upon authority too weak to trust.⁴ Mithridates was not ostracised at all, but tried and punished for subversion to his country.

I should better have said as much about this miserable and

Aufgabenstellung:

preacher institution of Elizabethan, if the strenuous assertions, against the *Atheism* Democracy, of envy, injustice, and ill-accordment of their superior men, had not been greatly founded upon it, and if such collisions had not passed from ancient times to modern with little examination. In monarchical governments, as to the throne, numbering a certain amount of equals as a matter of course excluded from the country. The Bourbons cannot now reside in France—nor could after 1848—nor Charles Edward in England during history. He now treats this as any uncorrupted injustice is the parallel of the ostracism—with a stronger case of the latter, inasmuch as the change from one royal another does not of necessity overthrow all the collected usages and securities of the country. Plutarch has affirmed ostracism arose from the envy and jealousy inherent in us; and not from justifiable fears—an observation often yet not the less disastrously correct. Not merely ostracism so worked as often to increase the influence of

² Levine *versus* Adkins, 41 U.S. 546, 10 Pet. 546 (1842); *Adkins* *versus* Adkins, 41 U.S. 546, 10 Pet. 546 (1842) (that land owners may afford evidence to the jury in the landward to the mouth of a river and point of the other evidence on testimony to the river to which is evidence to take on land from Adkins to a river and river).

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[illegible]

that political leader whose rind is removed, but still more, however, if the fact had been as Plutarch says, this institution would have continued as long as the democracy; whereas it finished with the overthrow of Hyperbolus, at a period when the government was more decisively democratised than it had been in the time of Kleonomenes. It was, in truth, a product altogether of fear and immorality,¹ on the part both of the democracy and its best friends—fear perfectly well grounded, and only appearing feeble because the precautions taken prevented attack. So soon as the defence of a constitutional morality had placed the souls of the citizens above all serious fear of an aggressive warper, the ostracism was discontinued. And doubtless the feeling, that it might safely be dispensed with, must have been strengthened by the long ascendancy of Perikles—by the spectacle of the greatest statesman whom Athens ever produced, sitting steadily within the limits of the constitution; and by the ill-success of his two opponents, Klonas and Thersiphoi²—aided by numerous partisans and by the gossameric writers, at a period when comedy was a power in the state such as it has never been before or since—in their attempts to get him ostracised. They succeeded in fanning up the ordinary antipathy of the citizens towards philosophers so far as to procure the ostracism of his friend and teacher Demos; but Perikles himself (to repeat the complaint of his bitter enemy the comic poet Klonas?) “holds his head as high as if he carried the Ostrakon upon it, now that the steel has gone by”—is now that he has escaped the ostracism. If Perikles was not considered to be dangerous to the constitution, none of his measures were at all likely to be so regarded. Demos and Hyperbolus were the two last persons ostracised. Both of them were comic, and the only comic, of an unimportant class of the institution, because, whatever the grounds of displeasure against them may have been, it is impossible to conceive either of them as menacing to the state; whereas all the other known sufferers were men of such position and power, that the OSTR

¹ Thucyd. viii. 55. See Serapion and other ancient authors.

² Klonas ap. Plutarch. Perikles, c. 15.

³ Thersiphoiades, *Index* ad *epigrammata*.

Thersiphoi, *epigrammata* ad *epigrammata*.
“Epica, *epigrammata* *epigrammata*.”

For the ostracism of the comic writers upon Demos, see Plutarch, Perikles, c. 15.

citizens who awarded such names on the spot, or at least a large proportion of them, may well have done so under the most conscientious belief that they were punishing the constitution against real danger. Such a change in the character of the persons concerned plainly attests that the ostracism had become discredited from that previous patriotic preference which originally rendered it both legitimate and popular. It had served for two generations as inalienable tutelary purpose—it lived to be twice dishonoured—and then passed, by unrevoked acquiescence, into matter of history.

A private analogue to the ostracism exhibited at Argos,¹ at Syracuse, and in some other Grecian democracies. Aristotle states that it was allowed for factional purposes: and at Syracuse, where it was introduced after the capture of the Sicilian dynasty, Aristotle attests that it was so rapidly and profusely applied, as to deter persons of wealth and station from taking any part in public affairs; by which means it was speedily discontinued. We have no particulars to enable us to appreciate this general statement. But we cannot safely infer that because the ostracism worked on the whole well at Athens, it must necessarily have worked well in other states—the more so as we do not know whether it was accompanied with the same precautionary limitations, nor whether it even required the same large numbers of votes to make it effective. This latter guarantee, so valuable in regard to an institution essentially easy to abuse, is not noticed by Aristotle in his brief account of the *Polis*—so the process was discontinued at Syracuse.²

Book v. is the first Athenian democracy, considered as well by the reaction against Pericles and his dynasty, as by the memorable partnership, whether spontaneous or compulsory, between Cleisthenes and the unreformed aristocrats. It is to be distinguished both from the delegated oligarchy established by Solon before, and from the full-grown and spontaneous democracy which prevailed afterwards from the capture of the Peisistratidæ.

¹ *Politics*, *Polit.* ii. 2, 3; v. 2, 3.

² *Politics*, *Polit.* ii. 2, 3. This feature of the constitution of the Syracusean *Polis* is very important in a dispute.

ostracism, nevertheless it is apparently the characteristic of the Syracusean *Polis*.

war, towards the close of the career of Perikles. It was indeed a striking revolution, impressed upon the nation not less by the sentiment to which it appealed than by the visible change which it made in political and social life. The new house itself marshalled in the ranks of hoplites alongside of new companies of archers—he was enrolled in a new regency, and his property in a new schedule, in his dome and by his demarch, an officer before unknown—he found the year distributed about, for all legal purposes, into ten parts bearing the name of *pytinae*, each marked by a solemn and far-spoken riddens at which he held a right to be present—his children was enrolled and provided by senators called *pytinae*, members of a senate now both as to number and designation—his political duties were now performed as member of a tribe, designated by a name not before pronounced in common Athen life, connected with one of his kinsmen whose status he now for the first time saw in the agora, and associating him with fellow-citizens from all parts of Attica. All these and many others were sensible novelties felt in the daily proceedings of the citizen. But the great novelty of all was the authentic recognition of the ten new tribes as a sovereign Ethnos or people, apart from all speculation of Phratry or gentile origin, with free speech and equal law; retaining no distinction except the four classes of the Solonian property-schedule with their gradations of eligibility. To a considerable proportion of citizens this great novelty was still further enhanced by the fact that it had raised them out of the degraded position of metaxoi and slaves; while to the large majority of all the citizens it furnished a splendid political idea, profoundly impressive to the Greek mind—capable of calling forth the most ardent attachment as well as the most devoted sense of active obligation and obedience. We have now to see how their newly-created patriotism manifested itself.

Kleisthenes and his new constitution, carried with them an completely the popular feeling, that impostor had no other way of opposing it except by calling in the interference of Kleisthenes and the *harmotomeis*. Kleisthenes listened the more readily to this call, as he was reported to have been on an intimate footing with the wife of Targone. He prepared to come to Athens; but his

Targone
wife to
Kleisthenes
and the
Larion
sought
against it.

first aim was to depose the democracy of the good leader Kleisthenes, who, as belonging to the Alkmeonid family, was supposed to be tainted with the infamous sin of his great-grandfather Megakles, the destroyer of the usurper Kylon. Kleomenes sent a herald to Athens, demanding the expulsion "of the ancestral,"—on this family were called by their names, and so they continued to be called eighty years afterwards, when the same manoeuvre was practised by the Lacedæmonians at that day against Perikles. This requisition, recommended by Isagoras, was so well-timed, that Kleomenes, not venturing to disobey it, retired voluntarily; so that Kleomenes, though arriving at Athens only with a small force, found himself master of the city. At the instigation of Isagoras, he sent into exile seven hundred families, selected from the chief persons of Kleisthenes. The next attempt was to dissolve the new senate of Five Hundred, and to place the whole government in the hands of three hundred allotments of the chief whose names he appointed. But now was seen the spirit infused into the people by their new constitution. At the time of the first usurpation of Perikles, the senate of that day had not only not resisted, but even lent themselves to the scheme. Now, the new senate of Kleisthenes resolutely refused to submit to dissolution, while the citizens generally, even after the banishment of the chief Alkmeonid persons, manifested their feelings in a way at once so brave and so determined.

Kleisthenes and Isagoras expelled from Athens.

that Kleomenes and Isagoras were altogether baffled. They were compelled to retire into the acropolis and stand upon the defensive. This position of weakness was the signal for a general rising of the Athenians, who besieged the Spartan king on the holy rock.

He had evidently come without any expectation of finding, or any means of overpowering, resistance; for at the end of two days his provisions were exhausted, and he was forced to capitulate. He and his Lacedæmonians, as well as Isagoras, were allowed to return to Sparta; but the Alkmeonid of the party captured along with him were imprisoned, condemned,¹ and executed by the people.

Kleisthenes, with the seven hundred exiled families, was immediately recalled, and his new constitution mutually

¹ Herodotus, v. 70—72; complete text of *Adapted Greek*, 114.

accomplished by this first success. Yet the prospect of renewed Spartan attack was sufficiently serious to induce him to send ambassadors to Aristagoras, the Persian Envoy at Sardis, soliciting the admission of Athens into the Persian alliance. He probably feared the vengeance of the expelled Hippias in the same quarter. Aristagoras, having first informed himself who the Athenians were, and where they dwelt, replied that if they chose to send such and such to the King of Persia, they might be received as allies, but upon no other conditions. Such were the feelings of alienation under which the envoys had quitted Athens, that they went the length of promising this unexpected token of submission. But their countrymen on their return discovered them with some and indignation.¹

It was at this time that the first contention began between Athens and the little Boeotian town of Pistia, situated on the northern slope of the range of Kithairon, between that mountain and the river Asopos—on the road from Athens to ^{THE} Thibos; and it is upon this occasion that we first ^{become} become acquainted with the Boeotians and their ^{political} political position. In one of my preceding volumes,² the Boeotian federation has already been briefly described, as composed of some twelve or thirteen autonomous towns under the leadership of Thibos, which was, or professed to have been, their mother-city. Pistia had been (so the Thibians affirmed) their latest foundation;³ it was ill-used by them, and discontented with the alliance. Accordingly, as Kleomenes was on his way back from Athens, the Pistians took the opportunity of addressing themselves to him, craving the protection of Sparta against Thibos, and surrendering their town and territory without reserve. The Spartan king, having no motive to undertake a task which promised nothing but trouble, advised them to solicit the protection of Athens, as nearer and more accountable than in case of need. He forewarned that the world entered the Athenians with Boeotia, and such anticipation was in fact his chief motive for giving the advice, which the Pistians followed. Selecting as occasion of public murder at Athens, they de-

¹ Herodot. v. 93.² See part II. ch. 2.³ Thucyd. II. 42.

designs—and probably the Boeotians were incensed with the recent interference of Athens in the affair of Plataea. As soon as these preparations were completed, the two kings of Sparta, Kleomenes and Demaratus, put themselves at the head of the united Peloponnesian force, marched into Attica, and advanced as far as Eleusis on the way to Athens. But when the allies came to know the purpose for which they were to be employed, a spirit of dissatisfaction manifested itself among them. They had no unfriendly sentiment towards Athens; and the Corinthians especially, formerly disposed rather than otherwise towards democracy, resolved to proceed no farther, withdrew their contingents from the camp, and returned home. At the same time, king Demaratus, either sharing in the general dissatisfaction or moved by some grudge against his colleague which had not before manifested itself, renounced the undertaking also. Two such examples, operating upon the pre-existing sentiment of the allies generally, caused the whole camp to break up and return home without striking a blow.¹

We may here remark that this is the first instance known in which Sparta appears in act as recognized head of an obligatory Peloponnesian alliance,² summoning contingents from the cities to be placed under the command of her king. Her husband, previously recognized in theory, passes now into act, but in an unsatisfactory manner, so as to prove the necessity of precaution and concert beforehand—which will be found not long wanting.

Pursuant to the schemes concerted, the Boeotians and Chalkidians attacked Attica at the same time that Kleomenes entered it. The former seized Eleusis and Nysia, the frontier towns of Attica on the side towards Plataea; while the latter assailed the north-eastern frontier which faces Euboea. Invaded on three sides, the Athenians were in serious danger, and were compelled to concentrate all their forces at Eleusis against Kleomenes, leaving the Boeotians and Chalkidians unopposed. But the unexpected breaking-up of the invading army from Peloponnesus proved

¹ Herodotus, v. 76.

Strabo, viii. 497.

² Compare Xenophon, *Res. Greecarum* p. 16. *Politenische Beschreibung*, p. 16.

³ See, however, his interpretation of the word in Herodotus v. 102—the only usage, the agency of persons.

their means, and enabled them to turn the whole of their attention to the other frontier. They marched into Boeotia to the strait called Euripus which separates it from Euboea, intending to prevent the junction of the Boeotians and Chalkidians, and to attack the latter first apart. But the arrival of the Boeotians opened an alteration in their scheme; they attacked the Boeotians first, and gained a victory of the most complete character—killing a large number, and capturing 700 prisoners. On the very same day they crossed over to Euboea, attacked the Chalkidians, and gained another victory as decisive that it at once terminated the war. Many Chalkidians were taken, as well as Boeotians, and conveyed in chains to Athens, where after a certain detention they were at last ransomed for two minæ per man. Of the sum thus raised, a tenth was employed in the fabrication of a chariot and four horses in brass, which was placed in the acropolis to commemorate the victory. Hierodotus saw this trophy when he was at Athens. He saw too, what was a still more speaking trophy, the actual chains in which the prisoners had been fettered, exhibiting in their appearance the damage undergone when the acropolis was burnt by Xerxes: an inscription of four lines described the offerings and recorded the victory out of which they had sprung.¹

Another consequence of some moment arose out of this victory.

The Athenians planted a body of 4000 of their citizens as Ekklusai (set-holders) or settlers upon the lands of the wealthy Chalkidian oligarchy called the Eupphorion—proprietors probably in the fertile plain of Lelantum between Chalcis and Eretria. This was a system which we shall find hereafter extensively followed out by the Athenians in the days of their power; partly with the view of providing for their poorer citizens—partly to serve as garrisons among a population either hostile or of doubtful fidelity. These *Asiæ Ekklusai* (I can find no other name by which to speak of them) did not lose their birthright as Athenian citizens. They were not colonists in the Grecian sense, and they are known by a totally different name, but they corresponded very nearly to the colonies later planted out on the conquered lands by Rome. The

Plutarchus
de Atheniensium
fortitudine
lib. 1. c. 10.
in the
Glossary
of Chalcis.

¹ Herodot. v. 77; *Strabo*, v. 11. c. 1; *Plutarch*, l. 10, 2.

increase of the poorer population was always more or less painfully felt in every Grecian city; for though the aggregate population never seems to have increased very fast, the diminishing class of children in poor families caused the subdivision of the smaller lots of land, until at last they became insufficient for a maintenance; and the persons thus impoverished found it difficult to obtain subsistence in other ways, more especially as the labour for the richer classes was in much performed by imported slaves. Therefore some families possessed of landed property became extinct. Yet this did not at all benefit the wealthier and poorer proprietors, for the lands remained vacant power, not to them, but by inheritance or bequest or intermarriage to other proprietors for the most part in any circumstances, since one family usually intermarried with another. I shall enter more fully at a future opportunity into this question—the great and serious problem of population, as it affected the Greek communities generally, and as it was dealt with in theory by the powerful minds of Plato and Aristotle—at present it is sufficient to notice that the numerous Ephorææ sent out by Athens, of which this to Eretria was the first, arose in a great measure out of the multiplication of the poorer population, which her extended power was employed in providing for. Her subsequent proceedings with a view to the same object will not be always found so justifiable as this one before us, which grew naturally, according to the ideas of the time, out of her success against the Chalcidians.

Between the
the two
fact—
they are
quadruple
from
Athens.

The war between Athens, however, and Thebes with her Boeotian allies, still continued, to the great and repeated disadvantage of the latter, until at length the Thebans in despair went to ask advice of the Delphian oracle, and were directed to "select aid from those nearest to them." "How (they replied) are we to obey! Our nearest neighbours, of Thracians, Eubœians, and Thracians, are now, and have been from the beginning, leading us all the aid in their power." An ingenious Theban, however, coming to the relief of his perplexed fellow-citizens, dived into the depths of legend and brought up a happy meaning. "These nearest to

The Persian invasion under Xerxes, was opposed only with the conquest of the island about twenty years after that event, and with the expulsion and destruction of its inhabitants. There had been indeed, according to Herodotus,¹ a kind of great antipathy between Athens and Argos—of which he gives the account in a singular narrative blending together religion, politics, expeditions of ancient customs, &c. But at the time when the Tholians solicited aid from Argos, the latter was at peace with Athens. The Argians employ all their fleet, powerful for that day, in ravaging Phlœgium and the maritime domes of Attica; nor had the Athenians as yet any fleet to resist them.² It is probable that the desired effect was produced, of diverting a portion of the Athenian force from the war against Boeotia, and thus partially relieving Thebes; but the war of Athens against both of them continued for a considerable time, though we have no information respecting its details.

Kleomenes the attention of Athens was called off from these combined enemies by a more alarming cloud which threatened to burst upon her from the side of Sparta. Kleomenes and his countrymen, full of resentment at the late injurious direction of Elpidas, were yet more incensed by the discovery, which appears to have been recently made, that the injunctions of the Delphian priests for the expulsion of Hippias from Athens had been fraudulently procured.³ Moreover Kleomenes, when shut up in the acropolis of Athens with Isagoras, had found these various prophecies profusely testified up by the Perseutæ, many of which foretold events highly disastrous to Sparta. And while the recent brilliant manifestations of courage and repeated victories, on the part of Athens, seemed to indicate that such prophecies might perhaps be realized, Sparta had to reproach herself, that, from the foolish and mischievous conduct of Kleomenes, she had undone the effort of her previous aid against the Perseutæ, and thus lost that return of gratitude which the Athenians would otherwise have justified. Under such impressions, the Spartan authorities took the remarkable step of sending for Hippias from his residence at

¹ Herodotus, v. 49—56.

² Herodotus, v. 46—48, previous to the

expedition against Argos.

³ Herodotus, v. 96.

Epitade to Peloponnesus, and of summoning deputies from all their allies to meet him at Sparta.

The convocation thus summoned deserves notice as the commencement of a new era in Grecian politics. The premature expedition of Kleonarch against Athens presents to us the first known example of Spartan leadership passing from theory into act: that expedition miscarried because the allies, though willing to follow, would not follow blindly, nor be made the instruments of executing purposes repugnant to their feelings. Sparta had now learnt the necessity, in order to ensure their hearty co-operation, of letting them know what she contemplated, so as to ascertain at least that she had no decided opposition to apprehend.

First formal recognition of Spartan leadership of Greece towards a political system.

Here then is the third stage in the spontaneous movement of Greece towards a systematic conjunction, however imperfect, of its many autonomous units: first we have Spartan leadership suggested in theory, from a concurrence of circumstances which attract to her the admiration of all Greece—power, untroubled tranquility, undisturbed antiquity, &c.: next, the theory passes into act, yet rude and shapeless. Lastly, the act becomes clothed with formalities and preceded by discussion and determination. The first convocation of the allies at Sparta, for the purpose of having a common object submitted to their consideration, may well be regarded as an important event in Grecian political history: the proceedings at the convocation are no less important, as an indication of the way in which the Greeks of that day felt and acted, and even to be borne in mind as a contrast with times hereafter to be described.

Hippias having been presented to the assembled allies, the Spartans expressed their sorrow for having dishonoured him—their resentment and alarm at the new-born insolence of Athens,¹ already noted by her immediate neighbours, and menacing to every state represented in the convocation—and their anxiety to restore Hippias, not less as a reparation of past wrong, than as a means, through his rule, of keeping Athens low and dependent. But the proposition, though emanating from Sparta, was listened to by the allies with one common sentiment of

¹ Xenodot. v. 25, 26.

sympathies. They had no sympathy for Hippasus—the Gellia, still less any bar, of Athens—and a profound detestation of the character of a despot. The spirit which had animated the armed contingents at Heraclea now reappeared among the deputies at Sparta, and the Corinthian allies took the initiative. Their deputy Xenokleides protested against the project in the forum and next independent states. He harangued on a stronger note than that of the long harangue which Herodotus puts into his mouth, whereas the latter took notice

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¹ Herodot. v. 91. . . . regarding
in very various manner, independently,
yet also separately after each other, as
Spartans did, per se, per se.

² Herodot. v. 91. . . . the reader might
suppose and after 'Hellenes'.

³ Herodot. v. 91, 92.

be found materially altered. Agreement to single-headed rule, and later recognition of men like Krynkeus and Perikander, are now the checks which stand in an assembly of Greek deputies. The idea of a revolution (signifying thereby an organic and comprehensive change of which the party using the word disapproved) consists in substituting a permanent One in place of those periodical magistracies and assemblies which were the common attributes of oligarchy and democracy; the antithesis between these last two is as yet in the background, and there prevails neither fear of Athens nor hatred of the Athenian democracy. But when we turn to the period immediately before the Peloponnesian war, we find the order of precedence between these two sentiments reversed. The anti-monarchical feeling has not perished, but has been overlaid by other and more recent political antagonisms—the antithesis between democracy and oligarchy having become, not indeed the only sentiment, but the dominant sentiment, in the minds of Greek politicians generally, and the soul of active party movement. Moreover a hatred of the most deadly character has grown up against Athens and her democracy, especially in the provinces of those very Corinthians who now stand forward as her sympathising friends. The remarkable change of feeling here mentioned is nowhere so strikingly exhibited as when we contrast the attitude of the Corinthian Sokleüs just narrated with the speech of the Corinthian envoys at Sparta immediately antecedent to the Peloponnesian war, as given to us in *Thucydides*.¹ It will hereafter be fully explained by the intermediate events, by the growth of Athenian power, and by the still more numerous developments of Athenian energy.

Such development, the fruit of the fresh-planted democracy as well as the seed for its maturation and aggrandisement, notwithstanding progressive during the whole period just alluded to; but the first unexpected burst of it, under the Kleisthenian constitution and after the expulsion of Hippias, is described by Thucydides in terms too emphatic to be quoted. After narrating the successive victories of the Athenians over both Dou-

Agreement to single-headed rule—now the checks which stand in an assembly of Greek deputies.

¹ *Thucyd.* I. 66-71, 126-133.

the strongest that could be hoped for was a passive resignation and obedience. Mr Burke has remarked that the mass of the people are generally very indifferent about the form of government; but such indifference (although improvements in the poor kind working of all governments tend to foster it) is hardly to be expected among any people who exhibit decided mental activity and spirit on other matters; and the reverse was unquestionably true, in the year 200 B.C., among the constitution of ancient Greece. The form of government wore there anything but a dead letter, they were connected with emotions of the strongest as well as of the most opposite character. The theory of a permanent ruling One, for example, was universally shared: that of a ruling Few, though arguable in, was never positively affirmed, unless either where it was associated with the maintenance of popular education and habits, as at Sparta, or where it presented itself as the only substitute to democracy, the latter having, by popular circumstances become an object of terror. But the theory of democracy was pre-eminently seductive; creating in the mass of the citizens an intense positive attachment, and disposing them to voluntary action and suffering on its behalf, such as no emotion on the part of other governments could excite. Herodotus,¹ in his comparison of the three sorts of government, puts in the front rank of the advantages of democracy "its most splendid name and promise"—its power of collecting the hearts of the citizens in support of their constitution, and of providing for all a common bond of union and fraternity. This is what even democracy did not always do; but it was what no other government in Greece could do: a reason alone sufficient to stamp it as the best government, and presenting the greatest chance of beneficent results, for a Grecian community. Among the Athenian citizens, certainly it produced a strength and unanimity of positive political sentiment, such as has rarely been seen in the history of mankind, which excites our surprise and admiration the more when we compare it with the apathy which

¹ Herodotus, III. 82. *ἡ δὲ δημοκρατία ἡ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀριστοκρατία, αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ ἡ δὲ δημοκρατία, καὶ ἡ ἀριστοκρατία, αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ ἡ δὲ δημοκρατία, καὶ ἡ ἀριστοκρατία, αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις ἀγαπᾷ.*

The democratic speaker at Sparta, Aristocritus, also sets the name and promise in the first rank of advantages.—Herodotus, II. 137. *ἡ δὲ δημοκρατία, αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ ἡ ἀριστοκρατία, αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις ἀγαπᾷ.*

had preceded, and which is even implied in the natural state of the public mind in Solon's famous proclamation against rapacity as a violation.¹ Because democracy happens to be unpalatable to most modern readers, they have been accustomed to look upon the sentiment here described only as its least honourable manifestations—in the caricatures of Aristophanes, or in the empty commonplaces of classical declaimers. But it is not in this way that the force, the earnestness, or the leading value of democratic sentiment at Athens is to be measured. The most likely to it as it comes from the lips of Pericles,² while he is strenuously exhorting upon the people these noble duties for which it hath implanted the stimulus and supplied the courage; or from the oligarchical Solon in the harbour of Syracuse, when he is endeavouring to revive the courage of his despairing troops for one last death-struggle, and when he appeals to their democratical patriotism as to the only theme yet alive and burning even in that moment of agony.³ From the time of Kleisthenes downward, the creation of this new, high impulse makes an entire revolution in the Athenian character; and if the change still stood out in so prominent a manner before the eyes of Herodotus, much more must it have been felt by the contemporaries among whom it occurred.

The attachment of an Athenian citizen to his democratical constitution comprised two distinct veins of sentiment: first, his rights, protection, and advantages derived from it—next, his obligations of gratitude and sacrifice towards it and with reference to it. Neither of these two veins of sentiment was ever wholly absent; but according as the one or the other was present at different times in varying proportions, the patriotism of the citizen was a very different feeling. That which Herodotus remarks is, the extraordinary efforts of heart and hand which the Athenians suddenly displayed—the efficacy of the active sentiment throughout the bulk of the citizen.

¹ See the preceding chapter vi. of the *History*, Vol. II. p. 107, beginning the famous declaration (reproduced in the margin).

² See the two speeches of Pericles in *Thucyd.* II. 39-44, and II. 60-64. Compare the reflections of Thucydides

upon the two democracies of Athens and Syracuse—III. 82 and 83. 11-12.

³ *Thucyd.* VII. 55. Describe as also *Demosthenes* (especially in Vol. II. and Vol. III.) and *Isocrates* (Vol. II. and Vol. III.)

Patriotism
of an
Athenian
citizen
—comprised
with the
upper spirit
of personal
rights and
advantages
—and
with the
lower spirit
of personal
obligations
and
sacrifice.

We shall observe even more remarkable evidence of the same phenomenon in tracing down the History from Kleisthenes to the end of the Peloponnesian war: we shall trace a series of events and motives mutually calculated to stimulate that self-imposed labour and discipline which the early democracy had first called forth. But when we advance further down, from the restoration of the democracy after the Thirty Tyrants, to the time of Demosthenes—(I venture upon this brief anticipation, in the conviction that one period of Greek History can only be thoroughly understood by contrasting it with another)—we shall find a sensible change in Athenian patriotism. The active sentiment of obligation is comparatively insignificant—the citizen, it is true, has a keen sense of the value of the democracy as protecting him and ensuring to him valuable rights, and he is moreover willing to perform his ordinary sphere of legal duties towards it; but he looks upon it as a thing established, and capable of maintaining itself as a due measure of foreign ascendancy, without any such personal efforts as those which his forefathers cheerfully imposed upon themselves. The orations of Demosthenes contain abundantly proof of such altered tone of patriotism—of that languor, paralysis, and waiting for others to act which preceded the catastrophe of Chæroneia, notwithstanding an unshaken attachment to the democracy as a source of protection and good government.¹ That more preternatural activity which the allies of Sparta, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, both denounced and aimed in the Athenians, is noted by the orator as now belonging to their enemy Philip. Such variations in the scale of national energy pervade history, modern as well as ancient, but in regard to Grecian History, especially, they can never be overlooked. For a certain measure, not only of positive political attachment, but also of active self-devotion, military readiness, and personal effort, was the indispensable condition of maintaining Hellenic autonomy, either in Athens or elsewhere; and became so more than ever, when the Macedonians were first organised under an

¹ Compare the magnificent speech of the Cynosletan orator at Sparta, *Memor. i. 2. 2. 34*, the Philippic, *i. 2. 11* (transl. i. 24, 11), with the later and the Philippian and Chæroneian speeches, which Demosthenes so generally

transition
of this
period an-
nounced in
the restored
democracy
after the
Thirty
Tyrants.

enterprising and semi-bellikent passion. The democracy was the first creative cause of that adventurous personal and many-sided energy which marked the Athenian character, for a century downward from Kleisthenes; that the same ultra-Hellenic activity did not longer continue is referable to other causes which will be hereafter in part explained. No system of government, even supposing it to be very much better and more fruitful than the Athenian democracy, can ever pretend to accomplish its legitimate end apart from the personal character of the people, or to supersede the necessity of individual virtue and vigour. During the half-century immediately preceding the battle of Chaeroneia, the Athenians had lost that remarkable energy which distinguished them during the first century of their democracy, and had fallen much more nearly to a level with the other Greeks, in common with whom they were obliged to yield to the pressure of a foreign enemy. I here briefly notice their last period of language, in contrast with the first burst of democratic fervour under Kleisthenes now opening—a feeling which will be found, as we proceed, to continue for a longer period than could have been reasonably anticipated, but which was too high strung to become a perpetual and inherent attribute of any community.

eye-servants, who describe it afterwards in its decline, but which was then in its most flourishing condition. The Chaldean dominion under Sargonius reached to the borders of Egypt, including as dependent territories both Judæa and Phœnicia. In Egypt reigned the native king Amasis, powerful and affluent, surrounded in his throne by a large body of Greek mercenaries, and himself personally disposed to Grecian commerce and settlement. Both with Labynetus and with Amasis, Cyrus was allied on terms of alliance; and as Artabazus was his brother-in-law, the four kings might well be deemed out of the reach of jealousy. Yet within the space of thirty years or a little more, the whole of their territories had become enrolled in one vast empire, under the men of an adventurer as yet not known even by name.

The rise and fall of oriental dynasties have been in all times distinguished by the same general features. A brave and adventurous prince, at the head of a population at once poor, warlike, and greedy, acquires dominion, while his successors, abandoning themselves to sensuality and sloth, gradually die to oppressive and insatiable depredations, become in process of time victims to those same qualities in a stranger which had enabled

their own father to seize the throne. Cyrus, the great founder of the Persian empire, first the subject and afterwards the deliverer of the Median Artabazus, corresponds to this general description, as far at least as we can pretend to know his history. Far in truth, even the conquests of Cyrus, after he became ruler of Media, are very imperfectly known, whilst the facts which preceded his rise up to that sovereignty cannot be said to be known at all: we have in shape between different accounts at variance with each other, and of which the most complete and detailed is stamped with all the character of romance. The *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon is venerable and interesting, considered with reference to the Greek mind, and as a philosophical novel.¹ That it should have been quoted so largely as authority on matters of history, is only one proof among many how easily authors have been misled as to the

¹ Among the last productions of the press from the library of Trinity College, the contemporary of the conqueſt, &c. and the author (Dionysius and Ptolemy, and the author of the *Geog. Anst.* 2. 12).

himself was in fact compelled to choose one out of four. So rare and late a plant is historical authenticity.

That Cyrus was the first Persian conqueror, and that the space which he events covered no less than fifty degrees of longitude, from the coast of Asia Minor to the Orus and the Indus, are facts quite indisputable; but of the steps by which this was achieved we know very little. The native Persians, whose he-
 conducted to an empire so immense, were an aggregate of seven civilized and four nomadic tribes—all of them rude, hardy, and brave—dwelling in a mountainous region, clothed in skins, ignorant of wine, or fruit, or any of the commonest luxuries of life, and despising the very idea of purchase or sale. Their tribes were very unequal in point of dignity, probably also in respect to numbers and power, among one another. First in estimation among them stood the Pasargada; and the first phratry or clan among the Pasargadae was the A-hamashide, to whom Cyrus himself belonged. Whether his relationship to the Median king whom he deposed was a matter of fact or a political fiction, we cannot well determine. But Xenophon, in narrating the quiescent deserted cities, Larissa and Marpacha,¹ which he saw in his march with the Ten Thousand Greeks on the eastern side of the Tigris, gives us to understand that the conquest of Media by the Persians was reported to him as having been an obstinate and protracted struggle. However this may be, the preponderance of the Persians was at least complete: though the Medes always continued to be the second nation in the empire, after the Persians, properly so called; and by early Greek writers the great empire in the east is often called "the Mede" as well as "the Persian". The Median Ekbatana too remained as one of the capital cities, and the usual summer residence of the kings of Persia; Susa on the Choaspis, on the Euxine plain farther southward, and east of the Tigris, being their winter abode.

The vast space of country comprised between the Indus on

¹ Herodotus, I. 71, 722; Arrian, v. 4; Strabo, xv. p. 717. Pliny, *l. viii.* c. 20.

² Xenophon, *Anabasis* ix. §. 5. c. 11. §. 1. c. 12. c. 13. c. 14. c. 15. c. 16. c. 17. c. 18. c. 19. c. 20. c. 21. c. 22. c. 23. c. 24. c. 25. c. 26. c. 27. c. 28. c. 29. c. 30. c. 31. c. 32. c. 33. c. 34. c. 35. c. 36. c. 37. c. 38. c. 39. c. 40. c. 41. c. 42. c. 43. c. 44. c. 45. c. 46. c. 47. c. 48. c. 49. c. 50. c. 51. c. 52. c. 53. c. 54. c. 55. c. 56. c. 57. c. 58. c. 59. c. 60. c. 61. c. 62. c. 63. c. 64. c. 65. c. 66. c. 67. c. 68. c. 69. c. 70. c. 71. c. 72. c. 73. c. 74. c. 75. c. 76. c. 77. c. 78. c. 79. c. 80. c. 81. c. 82. c. 83. c. 84. c. 85. c. 86. c. 87. c. 88. c. 89. c. 90. c. 91. c. 92. c. 93. c. 94. c. 95. c. 96. c. 97. c. 98. c. 99. c. 100.

³ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

⁴ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

at the time of which we are now speaking, when the wealth and cultivation of Assyria were at their maximum, that Iran also was for better purged than ever it has been since European discoveries have been able to survey it; especially the north-eastern portion, Baktria and Sogdiana; so that the invasions of the Scythians from Turkestan and Tartary, which have been so destructive at various intervals since the Mohammedan conquest, were before that period successfully kept back.

The general anxiety among the population of Iran probably enabled the Persian conqueror with comparative ease to extend his empire to the east, after the conquest of Elkhazna, and to become the full heir of the Median kings. If we may believe Kishin, even the distant provinces of Baktria had been before subject to these kings. At first it resisted Cyrus, but finding that he had become master of Assyria, as well as master of his person, it speedily acknowledged his authority.¹

According to the representation of Herodotus, the war between Cyrus and Darius of Lydia began shortly after the capture of Assyria, and before the conquest of Baktria.² War be-
tween
Cyrus and
Darius. Darius was the ancestor, wishing to avenge his
brother-in-law, to avenge the death of the Persian
conqueror, and to increase his own dominions. His more prudent
ambitions in vain represented to him that he had little to gain,
and much to lose, by war with a nation alike hardy and poor.
He is represented as just at that time recovering from the
affliction arising out of the death of his son.

To ask advice of the oracle, before he took any final decision,
was a step which no pious king would omit. But in the present
perilous question Darius did more—he took a precaution as
extreme, that if his piety had not been placed beyond all doubt
by his extraordinary munificence to the temples, he might have
drawn upon himself the suspicion of a guilty scepticism.³
Before he would send to ask advice respecting the project itself,
he resolved to test the truth of some of the chief surrounding

¹ Kishin, *Persia*, c. 4.

² Herodotus i. 124.

³ That this point of view should not
be noticed by Herodotus, may appear
singular, when we read the story yet

we about the Persian conquest, and
the religious laws prescribed him for
bearing toward the temples; that he is just
forward by Xenophon as commanding
2400 of the best of his own Hyaspares.
vol. i. 115.

oracles—Delphi, Dodona, Branchidae near Kilisra, Amyclæum at Tithos, Trophœum at Leisakia, and Ammonia in Libya. His voyage started from Sardis on the same day, and were all directed on the hundredth day afterwards to ask at the respective oracles how Croesus was at that precise moment employed. This was a curious trial: of the manner in which it was seen by four out of the six oracles consulted, we have no information, and it rather appears that their answers were contradictory. But Amyclæum maintained his credit unimpaired, while Apollo at Delphi, more consistent than Apollo at Branchidae, solved the question with such opening promises, as to afford a strong additional argument against persons who ought to be disposed to scoff at divination. No sooner had the oracles put the question to the Delphian priestess, on the day named, "What is Croesus now doing?" than she exclaimed, in the accustomed hexameter verse,¹ "I know the number of grains of sand, and the measure of the sea: I understand the dumb, and I hear the man who speaks not. The small reaches me of a hard-shelled tortoise boiled in a copper with hen's fish—copper above and copper below." Croesus was awe-struck on receiving this reply. It descended with the utmost detail that which he had been really doing, so that he succeeded the Delphian oracles and that of Amyclæum the only trustworthy oracles on earth—following up these feelings with a holocaust of the most magnificent character, in order to win the favour of the Delphian god. Three thousand oxen were offered up, and upon a vast sacrificial pile were placed the most splendid purple robes and tunics, together with couches and canopies of gold and silver; besides which he sent to Delphi half the richest presents in gold and silver—ingots, statues, bowls, jugs, &c., the size and weight of which we read with astonishment: the more so as Herodotus himself saw them a century afterwards at Delphi.² Nor was Croesus altogether ungrateful of Amyclæum, whose answer had been creditable, though less triumphant than that of the Pythian priestess. He sent to Amyclæum a spear and shield of pure gold, which were afterwards seen at Tithos by Herodotus: this large donation may help the reader to conceive the immensity of those which he sent to Delphi.

¹ Herodotus, l. ii, 93, 94, 95.

² Herodotus, l. ii, 93, 94, 95.

The envoys who conveyed these gifts were instructed to ask at the same time, whether Creusa should undertake an expedition against the Persians—^{and if so, whether she should consent any allies to join her.} In regard to the second question, the answer both of Apollo and of Amphitrone was decisive, recommending him to invite the alliance of the most powerful Greeks. In regard to the first and most momentous question, their answer was as remarkable for circumspection as it had been before for dictatorial severity; they told Creusa, that if he invited the Persians, he would convert a mighty monarchy. The blindness of Creusa interpreted this declaration into an unqualified promise of success: he sent further presents to the gods, and again inquired whether his kingdom would be durable. "When a man shall become king of the Miles," replied the priests, "then must that man ^{be not advised.}"

More alarmed than ever by such an answer, Creusa went to Sparta, under the large accompaniment and escort, to tender presents and solicit their alliance.¹ His propositions were favourably entertained—the more so, as he had before gratuitously furnished some gold to the Lacedæmonians, for a statue to Apollo. The alliance now formed was altogether general—an express effort being as yet demanded from them, though it soon came to be. But the incident is to be noted, as marking the first plunge of the leading Greek state into Asiatic politics; and that too without any of the generous Hellenic sympathy which afterwards induced Athens to send her arms across the *Ægean*. At this time Creusa was the master and tributary-master of the Asiatic Greeks, whose contingents seem to have formed part of his army for the expedition now contemplated: an army consisting principally, not of native Ephians, but of foreigners.

The river Halys formed the boundary at this time between the Median and Lydian empires: and Creusa, marching across that river into the territory of the Spartans or Assyrians of Cappadocia, took the city of Paria, with many of its surrounding dependencies, inflicting damage and destruction upon these distant subjects.

¹ Herodot. i. 91.

² Herodot. i. 92—93.

of Halatana. Cyrus lost no time in bringing an army to their defence considerably larger than that of Croesus; trying at one same time, though unsuccessfully, to prevail on the Ionians to revolt from him. A bloody battle took place between the two armies, but with indecisive result: after which Croesus, seeing that he could not hope to accomplish more with his forces as they stood, thought it wiser to return to his capital, and collect a larger army for the next campaign. Immediately on reaching Sardis he dispatched envoys to Labynthus king of Bablylon; to Amasis king of Egypt; to the Lacedæmonians, and to other allies; calling upon all of them to send auxiliaries to Sardis during the course of the fifth month. In the meantime, he dismissed all the foreign troops who had followed him into Kappadokia.¹

Had these allies appeared, the war might perhaps have been protracted with success. And on the part of the Lacedæmonians at least there was no tardiness; for their ships were ready and their troops almost on hand, when the unexpected news reached them that Croesus was already raised.² Cyrus had however and forestalled the defensive plan of his enemy. Pushing on with his army to Sardis without delay, he obliged the Lydian prince to give battle with his own unaided subjects. The open and spacious plain before that town was highly favourable to Lydian cavalry, which at that time (Herodotus tells us) was superior to the Persian. But Cyrus, employing a stratagem whereby this cavalry was rendered unavailable, placed in front of his line the baggage train, which the Lydian horses could not venture either to swell or to behold.³ The horsemen of Croesus were thus obliged to dismount; nevertheless they fought bravely on foot, and were not driven into the town till after a sanguinary contest.

Though confined within the walls of his capital, Croesus had still good reason for hoping to hold out until the arrival of his allies, to whom he sent pressing envoys of supplication. For Sardis was considered impregnable—no assault had already been repulsed, and the Persians

¹ Herodotus, i. 12.

² Herodotus, i. 12.

³ The story about this mounted at.

arrangement of the battle appears

also in Xenophon, Cyropæd. ch. 1.

would have been refused to the slow process of blockade. But on the fourteenth day of the siege, accident did for the besiegers that which they could not have accomplished either by skill or force. Harbin was situated on an outlying peak of the northern side of Tardina; it was well fortified everywhere except towards the mountain; and as that side the rock was so precipitous and inaccessible, that fortifications were thought unnecessary, nor did the inhabitants believe events to be possible in that quarter. But Hyrcanus, a Persian soldier, having accidentally seen one of the garrison descending this precipitous rock to pick up his helmet which had rolled down, watched his opportunity, tried to climb up, and found it not impracticable; others followed his example, the stronghold was thus seized first, and the whole city speedily taken by storm.¹

Cyrus had given special orders to spare the life of Croesus, who was accordingly made prisoner. But preparations were made for a solemn and terrible spectacle; the captive king was destined to be burnt in chains, together with fourteen Lydian youths, on a vast pile of wood. We are even told that the pile was already kindled and the flames beyond the reach of human aid, when Apollo sent a miraculous rain to preserve him. As to the general fact of supernatural interposition, in one way or another, Herodotus and Ekkehus both agree, though they describe differently the particular miracle wrought.² It is certain that Croesus, after some time,

¹ Herodotus, i. 86.

² Compare Herodotus, i. 84-87, and Ekkehus, *Deinde*, c. 2, which latter seems to have been copied by Herodotus, *ib.* 85, 86.

It is remarkable that among the stories circulated by Ekkehus, no mention is made of one of the pile or wood kindled; whereas the names of Cyrus and Croesus are given off, as the subject of wonder and admiration, but are not mentioned. This is deserving of notice, as contradicting the fact that Cyrus is desired the information from Persian sources, who would not be likely to neglect to give the king the use of fire for such a purpose. The Persian worshipped fire as a god, and considered it impious to burn a dead body consumed, *ib.* 88. Now Herodotus seems to have heard the story about

the burning from Lydian informants (compare *ib.* 84-85, Herodotus, i. 87). Whether the Lydians reported him in the same spirit of view as the Persians, we do not know; but even if they did, they would not be independent witnesses to Cyrus as an act of gross injustice, but as the Persians believed, according to an equally good authority, which Herodotus himself treats as a historical fact, *ib.* 88.

The long story told by Herodotus of the death of Croesus by Cyrus, has been supposed by some writers to be borrowed from the Lydian historian Hecataeus, who contemporary of Herodotus, lived it seems to be a more contemporary, not well yet known, from Xenophon's *Cyropædia* and from the narrative of Herodotus, perhaps including some portions

was released and well treated by his conqueror, and loved to become the confidential adviser of the latter as well as of his son Xanthus.¹ Xithus also informs us that a considerable town and territory near Eritæum, called Barbed, was assigned to him, according to a promise which we shall find not inconsistent with the Persian kings.

The prudent counsel and remonstrance as to the relations between Persians and Lydians, whereby Croesus is saved by Heracles to have first earned this favourable treatment, are hardly worth repeating; but the indignat remonstrance sent by Croesus to the

Delphic
oracles
concerned
by Croesus
to the
Delphians
and

Delphic god is too characteristic to be passed over.

He obtained permission from Cyrus to lay upon the holy pavement of the Delphian temple the chains with which he had at first been bound. The Lydian eunuchs were instructed, after submitting to the god these humiliating memorials, to ask whether it was his custom to decree his benefactors, and whether he was not ashamed to have encouraged the king of Lydia in an enterprise so disastrous. The god, condescending to justify himself by the lips of the prisoners, replied—"But even a god can escape his destiny. Croesus has suffered for the sin of his fifth ancestor (Gyges), who, conspiring with a woman, slew his master and wrongfully seized the empire. Apollo employed all his influence with the Moiræ (Fates) to obtain that this sin might be expiated by the children of Croesus, and not by Croesus himself; but the Moiræ would grant nothing more than a postponement of the judgment for three years. Let Croesus know that Apollo has thus provided for him a reign three years longer than his original destiny,"² after having tried to ruin to ruin him altogether. Moreover he sent that ruin, which at the critical moment extinguished the burning pain. Nor has Croesus any right to complain of the prophecy by which he was encouraged to enter on the war, for when the god told him that he would subvert a great empire, it

Heracles was of Eritæum (see Herod. *loc. cit.*), and the Phrygians of Eritæum in Lydia (Herod. *loc. cit.*).

¹ Xanthus of Eritæum in Lydia (Herod. *loc. cit.*).

² Herod. *loc. cit.* (see also Herod. *loc. cit.*).

Heracles was of Eritæum (see Herod. *loc. cit.*), and the Phrygians of Eritæum in Lydia (Herod. *loc. cit.*).

was his duty to have again inquired which empire the god meant; and if he neither understood the meaning, nor chose to ask for information, he has himself to blame for the result. Besides, Croesus neglected the warning given to him, about the acquisition of the Median kingdom by a noble: Cyrus was that noble—son of a Median mother of royal blood, by a Persian father at once of different race and of lower position.*

This triumphant justification entered even into Croesus himself a full confession, that the sin lay with him, and not with the god.† It certainly illustrates in a remarkable manner the theological ideas of the time.

It shows us how much, in the mind of Herodotus, the facts of the centuries preceding his own, unrecorded as they were by any contemporary authority, tended to cast themselves into a sort of religious drama; the threads of the historical web being in part put together, in part originally spun, for the purpose of writing forth the religious sentiment and doctrine woven in as a pattern. The Pythian priestess predicts to Gyges that the crime which he had committed in assassinating his master would be explained by his 55th descendant, though, as Herodotus tells us, no one took any notice of this prophecy until it was at last fulfilled.‡ We see that the history of the first Mermnad king is made up after the catastrophe of the last. There was something in the main facts of the history of Croesus profoundly striking to the Greek mind: a king at the summit of wealth and power—pious in the extreme and devoted towards the gods—the first destroyer of Hellenic liberty in Asia—then precipitated, at once and on a sudden, into the abyss of ruin. The sin of the first parent helped much towards the solution of this perplexing problem, as well as to enact the verdict of the oracle, when made to assume the shape of an unfulfilled prophecy. In the affecting story (discussed in a former chapter) of Solon and Croesus, the Lydian king is punished with an acute domestic affliction because he thought himself the happiest of mankind—the gods not suffering any one to be arrogant except

* Herodotus, l. vi. 35. "It is his own sin, from which does not depend, on all sides."

† Herodotus, also in the *Croesus* fragment, p. 1, 16–20. Solon says Croesus is the

most guilty of our leaders and leaders. See, through by ships, unrecorded.

† Herodotus, l. vi.

‡ Herodotus, *Comp.* ii. vol. 8, p. 278.

ment of the Persians at Sardis—an event pregnant with consequences to Hellas generally—took place in 498 B.C.¹ Shortly after the Ionian Greeks now regretted that they had rejected the propositions made to them by Cyrus for revivifying their *Croesus*—though at the time when those propositions were made, it would have been highly imprudent to listen to them, since the Lydian power might reasonably be looked upon as the stronger. As soon as Sardis had fallen, they sent envoys to the conqueror entreating that they might be enrolled as his tributaries, on the footing which they had occupied under *Croesus*. The reply was a stern and angry refusal, with the exception of the *Milesians*, to whom the terms which they asked were granted.² Why this favourable exception was extended to them, we do not know.

The other continental *Ionians* and *Milesians* (varieties of *Milesians*, and confederates also of the insular ones which the Persians had no means of attacking), seized with alarm, began to put themselves in a condition of defence. It seems that the Lydian king had caused their fortifications to be wholly or partially dismantled, for we are told that they now began to erect walls; and the *Phliasiens* especially devoted to that purpose a present which they had received from the Boeotian *Argaschides*, king of *Tarhiana*. Besides thus strengthening their own cities, they thought it advisable to send a joint embassy entreating aid from *Sparta*.

They apply
to them to
assist for
aid.

They doubtless were not surprised that the *Spartans* had actually equipped an army for the support of *Croesus*. Their dispatch went to *Sparta*, where the

¹ This important date depends upon the evidence of *Herodotus* (*Procurement*, i. 171) and *Demosthenes* (*Op. Publ.* *Isot.* i. 141); namely *Cicero's* *De Re Publica*, lib. ii. c. 12, and the *Armenian*, ch. 47, upon the *Lydian* *King*.

Mr. *Casson* and some of the chronological writers upon this date without hesitation, but *Volney* (*Recherches sur l'Asie*, *Asiatick*, vol. i. p. 365-367) *Chronology* does not believe reports to be accurate, considering the nature of things to have occurred in 497 B.C., and this stage of *Croesus* to have begun in 494 B.C. He knows very considerably the weakness of *Herodotus* and *Demosthenes*, and he is not a little surprised to find to prove that the date which he adopts is correct, not by *Herodotus*.

This latter does not appear to me at all satisfactory. I admit the date of *Herodotus* and *Demosthenes* through agreement with *Volney* that such positive evidence is not very satisfactory, because there is nothing to contradict them, and because the date which they give seems to correspond with the amount of the history.

Volney's argument appears to be the result of his own two stages of chronological procedure, which are inconsistent, in reference to events anterior to contemporary records. He takes about chronological evidence his ignorance to find a proper point of historical time for the supposed correspondence between *Herodotus* and *Croesus* (p. 124).

² *Herodotus*, i. 141.

Phileas Pythamus, appointed by the rest to be spokesman, clothing himself in a purple robe¹ in order to attract the largest audience possible, set forth their pressing need of assistance against the impending danger. The Lacedæmonians refused the prayer; nevertheless they despatched to Phileas some commissioners to investigate the state of affairs—who, perhaps persuaded by the Phileas, sent Lachius, one of their number, to the conqueror at Sardis, to warn him that he should not lay hands on any city of Hellas, for the Lacedæmonians would not permit it. "Who are these Lacedæmonians? (inquired Cyrus from some Greeks who stood near him)—how many are there of them, that they venture to send me such a notice?" Having received the answer, whereat it was stated that the Lacedæmonians had a city and a regular market at Sparta, he exclaimed—"I have never yet been afraid of men like these, who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they meet to shoot one another and beware themselves. If I live they shall have troubles of their own to talk about, apart from the Læmææ." To buy or sell appeared to the Persians a contemptible practice: for they carried out consistently one step further, the principle upon which even many able Greeks considered the lending of money on interest; and the speech of Cyrus was intended as a covert reproach on Grecian habits generally.²

This blank menace of Lachius, an insulting provocation to the enemy rather than a real support to the distressed, was the only benefit which the Ionic Greeks derived from Sparta. They were left to defend themselves as best they could against the conqueror, who presently however quitted Sardis to prosecute in person his conquests in the East, leaving the Persian Tachus with a garrison in the citadel, but consigning the large treasure captured, with authority over the Lydian population, to the Lydian Pactyas. As he carried away Croesus along with him, he probably considered himself sure of the fidelity of those Lydians whom the deposed monarch recommended. But he had not yet arrived at his own capital, when he received the intelligence that Pactyas had revolted, among the Lydian population, and employing the treasure in his change to

Cyrus sends
Lachius
ambassador
to the
king of
Sparta
to warn
him.

¹ Herodotus, i. 194. The purple robe, and European dress.

² Herodotus, i. 194. refers to the fact that the plain citizens resented at Sparta, where "Kakoi despotes" is spoken of, the conduct between Athens and Sparta.

hire fresh troops. On hearing this news, Cyrus addressed himself to Orontes (according to Herodotus) in terms of much wrath against the Lydians, and even intimated that he should be compelled to sell them all as slaves. Upon which Orontes, full of alarm for his people, contended strenuously that Paktyes alone was in fault and deserving of punishment; but he at the same time advised Cyrus to disarm the Lydian population, and to enforce upon them both effeminate arts and habits of playing on the lute and displaying. "By this process (he said) you will soon see them become women instead of men."¹ This suggestion is said to have been accepted by Cyrus, and executed by his general Mazeris. The conversation here reported, and the deliberate plan for enervating the Lydian character supposed to be pursued by Cyrus, is evidently an hypothesis imagined by some of the contemporaries or predecessors of Herodotus, to explain the contrast between the Lydians whom they saw before them, after two or three generations of slavery, and the old iron-sided horsemen of whom they heard in fable, at the time when Orontes was led from the Helix to the Sigeon Sea.

To return to Paktyes—he had commenced his revolt, some days to the sea-coast, and employed the treasures of Sardis in levying a Greek mercenary force, with which he invested the place and blocked up the governor Tachos. But he manifested no contempt worthy of so dangerous an enterprise; for no sooner had he heard that the Median general Mazeris was approaching at the head of an army despatched by Cyrus against him, than he disbanded his force and fled to Eryx for protection as a suppliant. Promptly arrived a commanding messenger from Mazeris, demanding that he should be given up forthwith, which plunged the Eryxians into profound dismay. The idea of giving up a suppliant to destruction was shocking to Greek sentiment. They went to solicit advice from the holy temple of Apollo at Branchidae near Miletus, and the reply directed that Paktyes should be surrendered. Nevertheless so ignominious did such a surrender appear, that Aristodimus and some other Eryxians strenuously denounced the messenger as base, and required that a more trustworthy deputation should be sent to consult the god. Aristodimus

¹ Herodot. l. viii.

himself, forming one of the second body, stated the perplexity to the oracle, and received a repetition of the same answer; whereupon he proceeded to rob the birds' nests which existed in abundance in and about the temple. A voice from the inner circular chamber speedily arrested him, exclaiming—"How unclean of men, how dared they to do such things! With them watch my suppliants from the temple itself!" Unabashed by the rebuke, Aristodemos replied—"Master, does not thou holy suppliant thyself: and dost thou command the Kynosians to give up a suppliant?" "Yes, I do command it" (rejoined the god forthwith), "in order that the crime may bring destruction upon you the women, and that you may not in future come to squall the oracle upon the surrender of suppliants."

The ingenuity of Aristodemos thus completely nullified the master's response, and left the Kynosians in their original perplexity. Not choosing to surrender Paktas, nor daring to protect him against a hovering army, they sent him away to Mitylène, whither the envoys of Maseis followed and demanded him; offering a reward so considerable that the Kynosians became fearful of trusting them, and again conveyed away the suppliant to Chios, where he took refuge in the temple of Athénê Poliaschê. But here again the pursuers followed. The Chians were persuaded to drag him from the temple and surrender him, on consideration of receiving the territory of Anaxoros (a district on the continent over against the island of Lesbos) as purchase-money. Paktas was thus seized and sent prisoner to Cyren, who had given the most express orders for this capture: hence the unusual intensity of the pursuit. But it appears that the territory of Anaxoros was considered as having been systematically acquired by the Chians: none even of their own citizens would employ any article of its produce for holy or sacrificial purposes.²

² Herodotus, l. viii.

³ Herodotus, l. viii. The short fragment from *Chios* of *Lesbos*, which Paktas the Mitylènean saved, is also given here, in support of assuming his many names. Paktas, in Herodotus, is a very common name. The fragment of the other, the latter, is given here, to confirm it.

In writing this matter on the alleged *Chios* of *Lesbos*, we are that Paktas had before him the history of

Chios of *Lesbos*, as mentioned by our common *Chios* of *Lesbos* where he was residing and also belonging to *Lesbos*. Of course, the purpose of his work is to produce the *Chios* of *Lesbos* which he would find in *Chios*. The fact that he has produced none of any sort, could be accounted for only in the knowledge of the *Chios*, and to show that as the *Chios* for *Lesbos* was in accordance with that of *Chios*.

Herodotus
 describes
 the towns
 captured, and
 sent by the
 Persians

 Mithra next proceeded to the attack and conquest of the
 Greeks on the coast; an enterprise which, since he
 soon died of illness, was completed by his successor
 Hargages. The towns assailed successively made a
 gallant but ineffectual resistance. The Persian general
 by his numbers drove the defenders within their walls,
 against which he piled up mounds of earth, so as either to carry
 the place by storm or to compel surrender. All of them were
 reduced one after the other. With all, the terms of subjection
 were decisive harder than those which had been imposed upon
 them by Cyrus, because Cyrus had already refused to grant those
 terms to them, with the single exception of Mithra, and because
 they had since given additional offence by siding the revolt of
 Polycus. The inhabitants of Prius were sold into slavery; they
 were the first assailed by Mithra, and had perhaps been
 especially forward in the attack made by Polycus on Sardis.^a

Herodotus
 describes

 Among these unfortunate towns that changing their master
 and passing into a harder subjection, two deserve
 especial notice—Tos and Paflos. The citizens of
 the former, so soon as the mound around their walls had rendered
 further resistance impossible, embarked and emigrated, some to
 Thana, where they founded Abdera—others to the Chersonesus
 Bosphorea, where they planted Phanagoria: a portion of them
 however must have remained to take the chance of subjection,
 since the town appears in after-times still peopled and still
 Hellenic.^b

The fate of Paflos, similar in the main, is given to us with
 more striking circumstances of detail, and because the more
 interesting, since the enterprising mariners who inhabited it had
 been the torch-bearers of Grecian geographical discovery in the
 west. I have already described their adventurous exploring
 voyages of farthest coasts into the interior of the Adriatic, and
 along the whole northern and western coasts of the Mediterranean
 as far as Tartessus (the region around and adjoining to Cadix)—
 together with the favourable reception given to them by old
 Argasidonus, king of the country, who invited them to come agate
 in a body to his kingdom, offering them the choice of any site

^a Herodotus, l. vii. 109.

^b Herodotus, l. vii. 108; Strabo, Geogr. lib. x.

Page, v. 128; Herod. Pers. v.
 128.

himself, and certified to his companions, that he had seen the smokes-larry of iron raised up and boiling for a while longest upon the water. Harpagus must have been induced to pardon the previous slaughter of his Phœnian gardeners, or at least to believe that it had been done by those Phœnians who still persisted in exile. He wanted tribute-paying subjects, not an empty military post, and the repentant homo-cœlestes were allowed to number themselves among the slaves of the Great King.

Karzen is the smaller but more remote half of the Phœnians; essential their voyage to Akko in Coëfira, with their wives and children, in sixty pentekonters or armed ships, and established themselves along with the previous settlers. They remained there for five years,¹ during which time their indiscriminate piracy had become so intolerable (even down to this time, piracy committed against a foreign vessel seems to have been practised frequently, and without much remorse), that both the Tyroësiens and the Carthaginians, united to put them down. There subsisted particular treaties between these two, for the regulation of the commercial intercourse between Akko and Italy, of which the ancient treaty preserved by Polybius between Rome and Carthage (made in 509 a.c.) may be considered as a specimen.² Sixty Carthaginian and as many Tyroëse ships, attacking the sixty Phœnian ships near Akko, destroyed forty of them, yet not without such serious loss to themselves that the victory was said to be on the side of the latter; who, however, in spite of this Karzenian victory (as a battle was denominated in which the victors lost more than the vanquished), were compelled to carry back their remaining twenty vessels to Akko and to retire with their wives and families, in so far as room could be found for them, to Elagion. At last these unhappy exiles found a permanent home by establishing the new settlement of Eia or Yella in the Gulf of Schœstir, on the Italian coast (Eia called Coëfirion) southward from Pœsôdêia or Pœstus. It is probable that they were here joined by other exiles from Lybia, in particular by the Kolophonians

Phœnians
many
half of
Akko.
500 a.c.
Eia.

¹ Diodorus, I. 120.

² Antiqu. Recl. II. 4, 11; Polyb. III. 22.

philosopher and poet Xenophanes, from whom what was afterwards called the Eleatic school of philosophy, distinguished both for bold consistency and delicate subtleties, took its rise. The Phileean capture, taken prisoner in the naval combat by Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians, was atoned to death. But a divine judgment overtook the Tyrrhenian town of Agrigæ in consequence of this cruelty; and even in the time of Hierodotus, a century afterwards, the Agrigæans were still expiating the sin by a periodical solemnity and agôn, pursuant to the penalty which the Delphian oracle had imposed upon them.¹

Such was the fate of the Phileean exiles, while their brethren at home remained as subjects of Marpessa, in common with all the other Ionæ and *Æolis Græcæ*, except Sarcos and Miletos. For even the insular inhabitants of Lesbos and Chios, though not accessible by sea, since the Persians had no fleet, thought it better to renounce their independence and enrol themselves as Persian subjects—both of them possessing strips of the mainland, which they were unable to protect otherwise. Sarcos, on the other hand, maintained its independence, and even reached, shortly after the period, under the despotism of Polycrates, a higher degree of power than war: perhaps the humiliation of the other maritime Græcæ around may have rather favoured the ambition of this unwarlike prince, to whom I shall resort presently. But we may readily conceive that the public solemnities in which the Ionæ Græcæ intermingled, in place of those gay and stately-decked crowds which the Homeric hymns describe in the preceding century as assembled at Delos, presented scenes of marked despondency. One of their wisest men, indeed, Bias of Priene, went so far as to propose, at the Pan-Ionic festival, a collective emigration of the entire population of the Ionæ towns to the island of Sardinia. Nothing like freedom (he urged) was now open to them in Asia; but in Sardinia, one great Pan-Ionic city might be formed, which would not only be free herself, but mistress of her neighbours. The proposition found no favour; the reasons of which is sufficiently evident from the narrative just given respecting the unrequisable local attachment on the part of the Phileans

Proposition
of Bias for a
Pan-Ionic
emigration
not
accepted.

¹ Herodot. 1. 165.

majority. But Herodotus looks upon it the most unqualified condemnation and regrets that it was not acted upon.¹ Had such been the case, the subsequent history of Carthage, Sicily, and even Rome might have been entirely altered.

Thus called by Xerxes, the Lacedæmonians and Tegeæans were employed as auxiliaries to him in the conquest of the south-western inhabitants of Asia Minor—Karians, Kasmians, Lykians, and Iolic Greeks of Ionia and Halikarnassus. Of the fate of the latter town, Herodotus tells us nothing, though it was his native place. The inhabitants of Kasion, a place situated on a long outlying tongue of land, at first tried to cut through the narrow isthmus which joined them to the continent, but abandoned the attempt with a facility which Herodotus explains by referring it to a prohibition of the oracle.² Neither Karians nor Kasmians offered any serious resistance. The Lykians only, on their chief town Xanthos, made a desperate defence. Having in vain tried to repel the assailants in the open field, and finding themselves blocked up in their city, they set fire to it with their own hands; consuming in the flames their women, children, and servants, while the armed officers marched out and perished to a man in combat with the enemy.³ Such an act of brave and even heroical despair is not in the Grecian character. In recounting, however, the long and defence and easy submission of the Greeks of Kasion, it may surprise us to find that they were Dæmons and colonists from Sparta. The want of steadfast courage, often imputed to Iolic Greeks as compared to Dorians, might properly be charged on Asiatic Greeks as compared with Europeans; or rather upon that mixture of indigenous with Hellenic population, which all the Asiatic colonies, in common with most of the other colonies, presented, and which in Halikarnassus was particularly remarkable; for it seems to have been half Karian, half Dorian, and was even governed by a line of Karian despots.

¹ Herodotus, l. 100. *ἡδὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἄλλο, ὅστις ἀντιπαρὶς τῷ Λαῷ, παρασκευάσῃ, ἢ ὡς ἄλλοις, ἔσται, ἢ οὐκ ὡς ἄλλοις, ἡδὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἄλλο, ὅστις ἀντιπαρὶς τῷ Λαῷ, παρασκευάσῃ, ἢ ὡς ἄλλοις, ἔσται, ἢ οὐκ ὡς ἄλλοις.*

² Herodotus, l. 100.

³ Herodotus, l. 100. The whole population of Kasion perished, except

eight families, who had fled to the mountains. The attempt to cut through the isthmus was made in vain. Xerxes then marched on to Xanthos, and after a long and desperate defence, the city was taken. The inhabitants were killed, and the city was burned to the ground. The city was then governed by a line of Karian despots. (Herodotus, l. 101.)

Harpagus and the Persians thus mastered, without any considerable resistance, the western and southern portions of Asia Minor; probably also, though we have no direct account of it, the entire territory within the Helles which had before been ruled by Croesus. The tributes of the conquered Greeks were transmitted to Ekbatana instead of to Sardis. While Harpagus was thus employed, Cyrus himself had been making still more extensive conquests in Upper Asia and Assyria, of which I shall speak in the ensuing chapters.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GROWTH OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

In the preceding chapter an account has been given, the best which we can pick out from Herodotus, of the steps by which the Asiatic Greeks became subject to Persia. CONQUEST
OF CYRUS
IN 546. His narrative is meagre, on a matter which vitally concerned not only so many of his hearer Greeks, but even his own native city, we can hardly expect that he should tell us much respecting the other conquests of Cyrus. He seems to withhold intentionally various details which had come to his knowledge, and merely intimates in general terms that while Harpagus was engaged on the coast of the Aegean, Cyrus himself sailed and subdued all the nations of Upper Asia, "not counting any one of them."¹ He alludes to the Babylonians and the Saks,² who are also named by Ktesias as having become subject partly by force, partly by capitulation. But he deems only two of the exploits of Cyrus worthy of special notice—the conquest of Babylon, and the final expedition against the Massagetae. In the short abstract which we now possess of the lost work of Ktesias, no mention appears of this important conquest of Babylon. His narrative, indeed, so far as the abstract enables us to follow it, diverges materially from that of Herodotus, and must have been founded on data altogether different.

"I shall mention (says Herodotus)³ those conquests which gave Cyrus most trouble, and are most memorable: after 546. 547. he had subdued all the rest of the continent, he attacked the Assyrians." Those who recollect the description of

¹ Herodotus, l. iii.² Herodotus, l. iii.³ Herodotus, l. iii. et de al. *conquestis* *quibus ei maxime, et memorabilibus* *erant, ceteras deperit.*

influenced, prohibitive, and offering every motive to its inhabitants to resist even the entrance of an enemy—we are told that the Babylonians were so thoroughly prepared for the assault of Cyrus that they had accumulated within their walls a store of provisions for many years. Strange as it may seem, we must suppose that the king of Babylon, after all the cost and labour spent in providing defences for the territory, voluntarily neglected to avail himself of them, suffered the invader to tread down the little Babylonians without resistance, and merely drew out the citizens to oppose him when he arrived under the walls of the city—if the statement of Herodotus is correct! And we may illustrate this unaccountable weakness by that which we know to have happened in the march of the younger Cyrus to Media against his brother Artaxerxes Mithridates. The latter had caused to be dug, expressly in preparation for this invasion, a broad and deep ditch (thirty feet wide and eight feet deep) from the wall of Media to the river Euphrates, a distance of twelve parangas or forty-five English miles, leaving only a passage of twenty feet broad close alongside of the river. Yet when the invading army arrived at this important pass, they found not a man there to defend it, and all of them marched without resistance through the narrow inlet. Cyrus the younger, who had up to that moment felt assured that his brother would fight, now supposed that he had given up the idea of defending Babylon;¹ instead of which, two days afterwards, Artaxerxes attacked him on an open plain of ground where there was no advantage of position on either side: though the invaders were taken rather unawares in consequence of their extreme confidence arising from recent unopposed marches within the artificial ditch. This anecdote is the more valuable as an illustration, because all its circumstances are transmitted to us by a disinterested eye-witness. And both the two incidents here brought into comparison demonstrate the recklessness, thoughtless-

It took
months
to Babylon
with its
distance
which is the
mainline

¹ Herodotus, l. iii. But it is probable that the king, in order to avoid the danger of a surprise, had ordered the ditch to be dug, and that he had intended to use it as a last resort.

But as it is probable that the king had intended to use it as a last resort, it is probable that he had intended to use it as a last resort.

which would have been the result of the invasion, and that the king had intended to use it as a last resort.

² Herodotus, l. iii. But it is probable that the king, in order to avoid the danger of a surprise, had ordered the ditch to be dug, and that he had intended to use it as a last resort.

been as liberally inclined to serve for protection, trade, and assistance to the Babylonians, was now made the arena of their ruin. Having left a detachment of his army at the two points where the Euphratic enters and quits the city, Cyrus retired with the remainder to the higher part of its course, where an ancient Babylonian queen had prepared one of the great lateral reservoirs for carrying off in case of need the superfluous of its water. Near this point Cyrus caused another reservoir and another canal of communication to be dug, by means of which he drew off the water of the Euphratic to such a degree that it became not above the height of a man's thigh. The period chosen was that of a great Babylonian festival, when the whole population were engaged in amusement and idleness. The Persian troops left none the town, watching their opportunity, entered from both sides along the bed of the river, and took it by surprise with scarcely any resistance. At no other time, except during a festival, could they have done this (says Herodotus) had the river been ever so low; for both banks throughout the whole length of the town were provided with quays, with continuous walls, and with gates at the end of every street which led down to the river at right angles; so that if the population had not been dissipated by the influence of the moment, they would have caught the assailants in the bed of the river "as in a trap," and overwhelmed them from the walls alongside. Within a square of fifteen miles to each side, we are not surprised to hear that both the extramurals were already in the power of the besiegers before the central population heard of it, and while they were yet absorbed in numerous festivity.¹

the river
Babylon
by drawing
off from
it one the
superfluous
of the
Euphratic.

¹ Herodotus (i. 191). This interpretation of the story, if we may judge from the expression of Herodotus, seems to have never dawned on his mind from all his time, for he thinks it necessary to add, "as Herodotus of Babylon says," as before his eye every Greek. But if we notice the story of the place as he wrote his last account, there seems nothing remarkable in the fact that the people in the walls did not at once hear of the capture; for the two branches of the Euphratic, except in the present direction of the walls and gates, is in a truly extraordinary

position alongside, and as such it is given by Aristotle (i. 136), with some explanation, to be given such a report that the inhabitants in the centre did not hear of the capture until the third day. Herodotus is not so true as to Herodotus.

Herodotus, in the *Compendium* ii. 1-10, observes too that Cyrus divided off the Euphratic, separate to be affected in a manner differing from Herodotus. According to him, Cyrus dug two canals, one to the right, and one to the left, from the main stream that went to the river

where his tomb was honoured and watched until the breaking up of the empire; while his memory was held in profound veneration among the Persians. Of his real exploits we know little or nothing, but in what we read respecting him there seems, though amidst constant fighting, very little cruelty. Xenophon has selected his life as the subject of a moral romance, which for a long time was used as school-book history, and which even now serves as an authority, explicit or implied, for disputable and even incorrect statements. His extraordinary strategy and conquests admit of no doubt. He left the Persian empire¹ extending from Babylon and the river Indus and India seaward, to the Hellespont and the Syrian coast seaward, and his successors made no permanent addition to it except that of Egypt. Phœnicia and Judæa were dependencies of Babylon, at the time when he conquered it, with their princes and peoples in Babylonian captivity. As they seem to have yielded to him, and became his tributaries² without difficulty, so the submission of their subjects was extended to them. It was from Cyrus that the habits of the Persian kings took commencement, to dwell at Susa in the winter, and Ekbatana during the summer; the province territory of Persia, with its two towns of Persepolis and Pasargada, being reserved for the burial-place of the kings and the religious sanctuary of the empire. How or when the conquest of Susiana was made, we are not informed. It lay midway of the Tigris, between Babylon and Persia Proper, and its people, the Kassians, so far as we can discern, were of Assyrian and not of Arian race. The river Choaspes near Susa was supposed to furnish the only water fit for the palate of the Great King, and is said to have been carried about with him wherever he went.³

While the conquests of Cyrus contributed to annihilate the Arian types of civilization in Western Asia—not by elevating the worse, but by degrading the better—upon the native Persians themselves they operated as an extraordinary stimulus, provoking alike their pride, ambition, cupidity, and warlike propensities.

Herodotus
gives a list
of the
Persians,
from the
conquests
of Cyrus.

¹ Herodotus, ii. 101; Xenophon, *h. Gr.*
² The Greek name of Persia, as the river Indus or Jaxartes, was said to have been brought by Cyrus—*cf.* was destroyed by Alexander (Strabo, ii. p. 172, 173; Arrian, *h. A. 3*; Diodorus, *lib. 2*).
³ Herodotus, ii. 101.
⁴ Herodotus, i. 100; Plutarch, *Life of Cyrus*, c. 2; Xenophon, *h. Gr.*

Not only did the territory of Paria Proper pay no tribute to Sasa or Elkhonaa—being the only district so exempted between the Jaxartes and the Mediterranean—but the vast tribute received from the remaining empire was distributed to a great degree among its inhabitants. Superstition itself—for the great men, sacrative examples or penalties, with powers altogether unlimited, pomp inferior only to that of the Great King, and standing armies which they employed at their own discretion, sometimes against each other¹—for the revenue, adduced from their fields or flocks, constant plunder, abundant maintenance, and an unrestricted license, either in the suite of one of the satraps, or in the large permanent troops which moved from Sasa to Elkhonaa with the Great King. And if the entire population of Paria Proper did not migrate from their shades to occupy some of those more terrible spots which the immensity of the imperial domination furnished—a *Somien*, extending (to use the language of Cyrus the younger before the battle of *Hamana*)² from the region of insupportable heat to that of insupportable cold—this was only because the early kings discouraged such a movement, in order that the nation might maintain its military hardihood³ and be in a situation to furnish

unlimited supplies of soldiers. The self-esteem and arrogance of the Parthians were no less remarkable than their avidity for sensual enjoyment. They were fond of wine to excess: their wives and their concubines were both numerous; and they adopted eagerly from foreign nations new fashions of luxury as well as of ornament. Even in religion they were not strongly averse. For though disciples of Zoroaster, with Magi as their priests and an indispensable composition of their sacrifices, worshipping Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, &c., and recognising neither image, temple, nor altar—yet they had adopted the voluptuous worship of the golden Hylas from the Assyrians and Achæans. A numerous male offspring was the Parthian's boast. His warlike character and consciousness of force were displayed in the education of those youths, who were taught, from five years old to twenty, only three things—to

¹ *Strabo*, lib. xii. c. 1, § 4.

² *Strabo*, lib. xii. c. 1, § 5; *Cyropæd.* lib. 8, c. 10.

³ *Herodotus*, lib. iii.

time when Cambyses son of Cyrus succeeded to his father's empire, Persian spirit was at its highest point. He was not long in fixing upon a poor but richer and less hazardous than the Massagetae, at the opposite extremity of the empire. Phoenicia and Judaea being already subject to him, he resolved to invade Egypt, then highly flourishing under the long and prosperous reign of Amasis. Not much violence was needed to colour the aggression; so that the various stories which Herodotus mentions as causes of the war, are only interesting inasmuch as they imply a vein of Egyptian party-feeling—affirming that the invasion was brought upon Amasis by a daughter of Apries, and was thus a judgment upon Amasis for having deposed Apries. As to the manner in which the daughter had produced this effect, indeed, the most contradictory stories were circulated.¹

Cambyses commenced the forces of his empire for this new enterprise, and among them both the Phoenicians and the Asiatic Greeks, *Æolæ* as well as *Ionæ*,² besides as well as continental—sandy all the maritime firm and skill of the Ægean Sea. He was assisted by a Greek deserter from the mercenaries in Egypt, named Phaulos, of the difficulties of the march, and the best method of surmounting them; especially the three days of sandy desert, altogether without water, which lay between Egypt and Judaea. By the aid of the neighbouring Arabians—with whom he concluded a treaty, and who were required for this service with the title of equal allies, free from all tribute—he was enabled to surmount this serious difficulty, and to reach Palæstine at the eastern mouth of the Nile, where the Indian and Persian troops in the Egyptian service, as well as the Egyptian auxiliary, were assembled to oppose him.³

Fortunately for himself, the Egyptian king Amasis had died during the interval of the Persian preparations, a few months before the expedition took place—after forty-four years of re-

¹ Herodot. II. 104.

² Herodot. II. 1, 29, 44.

³ The movement of *Libban* is, in respect both to the Egyptian mercenaries and to the other auxiliaries of Persian armies, greater & slower in his details than that of *Merodach*, appearing only in the most remote Arabian frontier.

a. 7. To bind the two together is impossible.

Herodot. II. 1. 10) notes the difficulty of approach for the invading army to Egypt. "Anaximenes, poetæ, etiamque philosophi, utriusque gentis, expeditum ad interiora desertorum ad occidentem." &c.

shared prosperity. His death, at this critical moment, was probably the main cause of the easy conquest which followed: his son Ptolemæus succeeded to his crown, but neither to his abilities nor his influence. The result of the contest was hushaltered, as usual, by a commanding prodigy—rain falling at Thbes in upper Egypt. It was brought about by a single victory, though bravely disputed, at Pelusium,—followed by the capture of Memphis with the person of king Ptolemæus, after a siege of some duration. Eumenes had sent forward a Helycæna ship to Memphis, with heralds to announce the city. The Egyptians, in a paragon of fury, rushed out of the walls, destroyed the vessel, and cast the crew into prison—a struggle proceeding which drew upon them severe retribution after the capture. Ptolemæus, after being at first treated with harshness and insult, was at length released and even allowed to retain his regal dignity as a dependent of Persia. But being soon detected, or at least believed to be concerned, in raising revolt against the conquerors, he was put to death, and Egypt was placed under a satrap.¹

Death of a man
kind of
Egypt, at
the time
when the
Ptolemæi
conquered
the
king pro-
prietorship
and Ptole-
mæus
reigns.

Conquest
of Egypt
by Eumenes
the king.

There yet lay beyond Egypt territories for the Persians to conquer, though Egypt and Barca, the Greek colonies near the coast of Libya, placed themselves at once out of the reach of danger by sending to Eumenes tribute and submission at Memphis. He projected three new enterprises: one against Carthage, by sea; the other two, by land—against the Ethiopians, due to the southward up the course of the Nile—and against the Arabs and Guds of Zens Ammon, amidst the deserts of Libya. Towards Ethiopia he himself conducted his troops, but was compelled to bring them back without reaching it, since they were on the point of perishing with famine; while the division which he sent against the temple of Ammon is said to have been overwhelmed by a sand-storm in the desert. The expedition against Carthage was given up, for a reason which well deserves to be commemorated. The Phœnicians, who

Subjugation
of Egypt
and Barca
to Eumenes
by the
Ptolemæi
indicates the
subjugation
of Egypt and
Barca
to Eumenes
by the
Ptolemæi.

¹ Herodotus vi. 19-20. About the incident, between Pelus and Egypt, see vi. c. 2, 25-26.

around the most efficient part of his navy, refused to array against their kinsmen and colonists, pleading the sanctity of mutual oaths as well as the ties both of relationship and traffic? Even the frantic Kambyses was compelled to accept, and perhaps to respect, this honorable refusal; which was not received by the Ionian Greeks when Darius and Xerxes demanded the aid of their ships against Athens—we must add, however, that they were then in a situation much more exposed and helpless than that in which the Phoenicians stood before Kambyses.

Among the sacred animals so numerous and so different throughout the various zones of Egypt, the most venerated of all was the bull Apis. Each peculiar condition was required by the Egyptian religion, as to the birth, the age, and the manner of his arrival, that when he died, it was difficult to find a new calf properly qualified to succeed him. Much time was sometimes spent in the search, and when an unexpected and terrible occurrence was at last found, the demonstrations of joy in Memphis were extravagant and unrestrained.

At the moment when Kambyses returned to Memphis from his Ethiopian expedition, full of humiliation for the result, it so happened that a new Apis was just discovered; and as the population of the city gave vent to their usual festive poetry and delight, he converted it into an intentional insult towards his own recent misfortune. In vain did the priests and magistrates explain to him the real cause of these popular manifestations. He persisted in his belief, punished some of them with death and others with stripes, and commanded every man seen in holiday attire to be slain. Furthermore—to carry his outrage against Egyptians feeling to the uttermost pitch—he sent for the newly-discovered Apis, and plunged his dagger into the side of the animal, who shortly afterwards died of the wound.¹

After this brutal deed—calculated to offend in the minds of the Egyptian priests the maxims of Osiris and Chonsu, and—desecrate unparalled in all the 24,000 years of their anterior history—Kambyses lost every spark of reason which yet remained to him. The Egyptians found in this violation a new proof of

History of
Kambyses
—On his
return
to Egypt
his younger
brother
Smerdis.

¹ Herodot. ii. 14.

² Herodot. ii. 28.

the avenging instantaneity of their gods. Not only did he commit every variety of studied outrage against the conquered people among whom he was harrying, as well as their temples and their equities—but he also dealt his blows against his Persian friends and even his nearest blood-relations. Among these revolting atrocities, one of the greatest deserves peculiar notice, because the fate of the empire was afterwards materially affected by it. His younger brother Smerdis had accompanied him into Egypt, but had been sent back to Susa, because the king became jealous of the admiration which his personal strength and qualities excited forth.¹ That jealousy was aggravated into alarm and hatred by a dream portending dominion and conquest to Smerdis, and the frantic Kambyses sent to Susa secretly a confidential Persian, Parysatis, with express orders to get rid of his brother. Parysatis fulfilled his commission efficiently, burying the slain prince with his own hands,² and keeping the deed concealed from all except a few of the slaves at the royal residence.

Among these few chiefs, however, there was one, the Median Patistahis, belonging to the order of the Magi, who saw in it a convenient stopping-stone for his own personal ambition, and made use of it as a means of covertly supplanting the dynasty of the great Cyrus. Enjoying the full confidence of Kambyses, he had been left by that prince on departing for Egypt in the entire management of the palace and treasures, with extensive authority.³ Moreover he happened to have a brother extremely resembling in person the deceased Smerdis. As the open and dangerous madness of Kambyses contributed to alienate from him the minds of the Persians, Patistahis resolved to proclaim this brother as king in his room, as if it were the younger son of Cyrus succeeding to the disqualified throne. On one important point, the false Smerdis differed from the true. He had lost his ears, which Cyrus himself had caused to be cut off for an offence; but the personal resemblance, after all, was of little importance, since he was seldom or never allowed to show

Excerpt from the
History of the
Persian Empire,
vol. 1, p. 100.
The text is
written in
the margin of
the book.

¹ Strabo tells the reader that Parysatis, and says that Cyrus had left her alone, without children, at Susa, and the conspirators were Parysatis, a. d. 522. Strabo is the only one

also tells the reader that, but gives him a different account of the event, vol. 1, p. 100.

² Herodotus, ii. 101-102.
³ Herodotus, ii. 101-102.

himself to the people.¹ Kambyses heard of this result in
 page 417 Syria on his return from Egypt. He was mounting
 his horse in haste for the purpose of going to suppress
 it, when an accident from his sword put an end to his life.
 Herodotus tells us that before his death he commended the Persians
 around him, confessed that he had been guilty of putting his
 brother to death, and approved them that the reigning Smerdis
 was only a Median pretender—asserting them at the same time
 not to subject to the disgrace of being ruled by any other than a
 Persian, not an Achæmean. But if it be true that he ever made
 known the facts, no one believed him. For Prexaphanes last year
 was compelled by regard to his own safety to deny that he had
 infused his hands in the blood of a son of Cyrus;² and thus the
 opinionless darts of Kambyses placed the false Smerdis without
 opposition at the head of the Persians, who all, or for the most
 part, believed themselves to be ruled by a genuine son of Cyrus.
 Kambyses had reigned for seven years and five months.

For seven months did Smerdis reign without opposition,
 succeeded by his brother Darius. He manifested
 his distrust of the haughty Persians around him by
 neither sending them into his palace nor showing
 himself out of it, he at the same time studiously
 conditioned the favour of the subject provinces, by
 remission of tribute and of military service for three
 years.³ Such a departure from the Persian principle
 of government was in itself sufficient to disgust the
 warlike and rapacious Achæmenids at home; but it
 seems that their suspicions as to his private character
 had never been entirely set at rest, and in the eighth month these
 suspicions were converted into certainty. According to what
 seems to have been the Persian usage, he had taken to himself
 the entire harvest of his province, among whose wheat was
 numbered Phaedymê daughter of a distinguished Persian named
 Otanes. At the instance of her father, Phædyms undertook the
 dangerous task of feeling the head of Smerdis while he slept, and

¹ Herodot. ii. 104-105.—"professing up the intention of it at the present
 dinner-table, [etc.]" says Plutarch. Plutarch, at all least down to a very
 short a while after the Persian movement.
² Herodot. ii. 104-105.—"asserting that he had not given
 himself without cause and power."
³ Herodot. ii. 104.

It has already been observed that the subjugation of the recent Mexico was not the only enhancement of the last years of Demas. Orsini, sailing off Herry's, Loria, and his, riding command, the entire was, in coast of Asia Minor—possessing a

reception, we have that Europe, captured in the possession of the last of the century, but it was not the only enhancement of the last years of Demas. Orsini, sailing off Herry's, Loria, and his, riding command, the entire was, in coast of Asia Minor—possessing a reception, we have that Europe, captured in the possession of the last of the century, but it was not the only enhancement of the last years of Demas. Orsini, sailing off Herry's, Loria, and his, riding command, the entire was, in coast of Asia Minor—possessing a

In 1841, in the beginning, Mr. Orsini, sailing off Herry's, Loria, and his, riding command, the entire was, in coast of Asia Minor—possessing a reception, we have that Europe, captured in the possession of the last of the century, but it was not the only enhancement of the last years of Demas. Orsini, sailing off Herry's, Loria, and his, riding command, the entire was, in coast of Asia Minor—possessing a

I have previously agreed to printing

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large military force and revenue, and surrounded by a body-guard of 1000 native Persians—maintained a haughty independence. He scarcely made away with couriers sent to summon him to Susa, and even wreaked his vengeance upon some of the principal Persians who had personally offended him. Darius, not thinking it prudent to attack him by open force, proposed to the chief Persians at Susa the dangerous problem of destroying him by stratagem. Thirty among them volunteered to undertake it, and Hagnon son of Artastis, to whom on drawing lots the task devolved, accomplished it by a manoeuvre which might serve as a lesson to the Ottoman government in its correspondence with contumacious Pashas. Having proceeded to Sardis, furnished with many different royal ordinances, formally set forth and bearing the seal of Darius, he was presented to Orontes in audience, with the public secretary of the satrapy close at hand, and the Persian guards standing around. He presented his ordinances to be read aloud by the secretary, choosing first those which related to matters of no great importance; but when he saw that the guards listened with profound reverence, and that the king's name and seal imposed upon them inevitably, he ventured upon the real purport of his perilous mission. An ordinance was handed to the secretary, and read by him aloud, as follows: "Furians, king Darius forbids you to serve any longer as guards to Orontes". The obedient guards at once delivered up their spears, when Hagnon traced the fatal warrant to be read to them: "King Darius commands the Persians in Sardis to kill Orontes". The guards drew their swords and killed him on the spot: his large treasure was conveyed to Susa: Darius became undisputed master, and probably Hagnon satrap.¹

Another devoted adherent, and another yet more marvellous proof of success, laid prostrate before Darius the Egyptian mighty walls and gates of the revolted Babylon. The inhabitants of that city had employed themselves mainly—both during the lax provincial superintendence of the false Smerdis and during the period of confusion and conflict

¹ Cf. Herodotus, *iii.* 102—103 and *vi.* 104—105. Cf. also *Herodotus*, *iii.* 102—103. Cf. also *Herodotus*, *iii.* 102—103. Cf. also *Herodotus*, *iii.* 102—103. Cf. also *Herodotus*, *iii.* 102—103.

² Cf. *Herodotus*, *iii.* 102—103. Cf. also *Herodotus*, *iii.* 102—103. Cf. also *Herodotus*, *iii.* 102—103.

³ [Herodotus, *iii.* 102, 103.]

which elapsed before Darius became firmly established and settled—in making every preparation both for declaring and maintaining their independence. Having accumulated a large store of provisions and other necessities for a long siege, without previous detection, they at length proclaimed their independence openly. Such was the intensity of their resolution to shake off the yoke, that they had recourse to a proceeding, which, if correctly reported by Herodotus, forms one of the most frightful excursions recorded in his history. To make their provisions last out longer, they strangled all the women in the city, reserving only their mothers, and one woman to each family for the purpose of baking.* We cannot but suppose that this has been magnified from a partial into a universal destruction; but taking it even with such allowance, it illustrates that forcible form of will, and that predominance of strong nationality, combined with antipathy to foreigners, over all the gentler sympathies, which seems to mark the Jewish nation, and which may be traced in consequence in the Jewish history of Josephus.

Darius, smelting all the forces in his power, laid siege to the revolted city, but could make no impression upon it either by force or by stratagem. He tried to repeat the proceeding by which Cyrus had taken it at first; but the besieged were found this time on their guard. The siege had lasted twenty months without the smallest progress, and the Babylonians devald the besiegers from the height of their impregnable walls, when a distinguished Persian nobleman, Zopyrus—son of Megabyrus, who had been one of the seven conspirators against Smerdis—presented himself one day before Darius in a state of frightful mutilation. His nose and ears were cut off, and his body maimed in every way. He had designedly thus maimed himself, "thinking it intolerable that Assyrians should thus laugh the Persians to scorn,"† in the intention, which he previously intimated to Darius, of passing into the town as a deserter, with the view of betraying it—for which purpose measures were concerted. The Babylonians, seeing a Persian of the highest rank in so deplorable a condition, readily believed his assurance that

* Herodot. iii. 120.

† Herodot. iii. 121. *ἔπειτα αὖτις ἐκείνῳ*.

Now, *ἔπειτα αὖτις ἐκείνῳ*, parenthetically, compares the species of *κρίματι*.

† B. 2.

The horror of Darius, at the first sight of Zopyrus in this condition, is strongly indicated by Herodotus.

for life, with enjoyment of its entire revenues, receiving besides every additional reward which it was in the power of Darius to bestow, and generous assurances from the latter that he would rather have Egyptus without wounds than the possession of Babylon. I have already intimated in a former chapter that the demolition of the walls here mentioned is not to be regarded as complete and continuous, nor was there any necessity that it should be so. Partial demolition would be quite sufficient to leave the city without defence; and the descriptions given by Herodotus of the state of things as they stood at the time of his visit, proves that portions of the walls yet subsisted. One circumstance is yet to be added in reference to the subsequent condition of Babylon under the Persian empire. The city with the territory belonging to it constituted a satrapy, which not only paid a larger tribute (see *above*) ¹ *Exeche* talents of silver) and contributed a much larger amount of provisions in kind for the maintenance of the Persian court, than any other among the twenty satrapies of the empire, but furnished besides an annual supply of five hundred war-horse youths.² We may presume that this was intended in part as a punishment for the past revolt, since the like obligation was not imposed upon any other satrapy.

Thus finally established on the throne, Darius occupied it for thirty-six years. His reign was one of organization, different from that of his two predecessors; a differ-
organization
 part of the
 Persian
 empire by
 Darius.
 ence which the Persians well understood and noted, calling Cyrus the Father, Cambyses the son, and Darius the retail-trader or book-keeper.³ In the mouth of the Persians this latter epithet must be construed as an insignificant compliment, since it intimates that he was the first to introduce some methodical order into the imperial administration and finance. Under the two former kings there was no definite

¹ *And*, par. 11, the author here positions for under a Persian the Persian a de-
 scribed the terms and conditions of
 "Persians" at the capture." (Nabonid,
History of Persia, par. 11, ch. 1, 10, 11,
 12, of the Persian Empire in the
 10th, p. 10, of Persia, 10th.)

² Herodotus, 11, 10.

³ Herodotus, 11, 10. What the Persians
 designated was, which Herodotus

or his successors designated, *organization*,
 we do not know; but this latter word
 was used often by Herodotus to signify a
 plan or scheme generally; see *Herodotus*,
History, 1, 10, 11, and 10th.
 "Herodotus, 11, 10, *organization* is here
 used with *organization*." (Nabonid, *History*,
History, 11, 10, 11, and 10th.) compare
 Herodotus, 11, 10, 11, and 10th.

amount of tribute levied upon the subject provinces. They furnished what were called presents, subject to no fixed limit except such as might be satisfactory to the satrap in each district. But Darius, succeeding as he did to Darius, who had rendered himself popular with the provinces by large financial exemptions, and having farther to encounter jealousy and dissimulation from Persians, his former equals in rank, so wisely felt it expedient to relieve the provinces from the burden of undefined exactions. He distributed the whole empire into twenty departments, imposing upon each a fixed annual tax, and a fixed contribution for the maintenance of the court. This great division has been a great improvement, though the limitation of the sums which the Great King at Susa would require did not at all prevent the satrap in his own province from indefinite exactions beyond it. The satrap was a little king, who acted nearly as he pleased in the internal administration of his province, subject only to the necessity of sending up the imperial tribute, of keeping off foreign enemies, and of furnishing an adequate military contingent for the foreign enterprises of the Great King. To every satrap was attached a royal secretary or comptroller of the revenues,¹ who probably managed the imperial finances in the province, and to whom the court of Susa might perhaps look as a vouch upon the satrap himself. It is not to be supposed that the Persian authorities in any province meddled with the details of taxation or contribution, as they bore upon individuals. The court having fixed the entire sum payable by the satrapy in the aggregate, the satrap or the secretary apportioned it among the various component districts, towns, or provinces, leaving to the local authorities in each of these latter the task of assessing it upon individual inhabitants. From necessity, therefore, as well as from intolerance of tamper and political interference, the Persians were compelled to respect the authorities which they found standing both in town and country, and to leave in their hands a large measure of genuine influence; frequently overruled indeed by oppressive

¹ Herodotus II. 128. This division of power, and double appointment by the Great King, approved by Darius, have coincided with the rise of the Persian empire. See *Journal Asiatique*, s. 1, 17, 20 (s. 2, 18-20, 21, 22). The present

Turkish government sustains a similar or double administration in each province, with authority derived directly from Susa, and probably independent of the Pacha.

interference on the part of the king, whenever any of his passions prompted, but never entirely suspended. In the important towns and stations, Persian garrisons were usually kept, and against the excesses of the military there was probably little or no protection to the subject people. Yet still the provincial governments were allowed to continue, and often even the petty kings who had governed separate districts during their state of independence prior to the Persian conquest retained their title and dignity as tributaries to the court of Eran.¹ The empire of the Great King was thus an aggregate of heterogeneous elements, connected together by no tie except that of common fear and subjection—never coherent nor self-supporting, nor parcelled by any common system or spirit of nationality. It resembled in its more political features the Turkish and Persian empires of the present day,² though distinguished materially by the many differences arising out of Mahometanism and Christianity, and perhaps hardly reaching the same extent of rapacity, corruption, and cruelty in detail.

Darius distributed the Persian empire into twenty satrapies, each including a certain continuous territory, and one or more satraps inhabiting it, the names of which Herodotus sets forth. The amount of tribute payable by each satrapy was determined: payable in gold, according to the Babylonian talent, by the Indians in the easternmost satrapy—in silver, according to the Babylonian or larger talent, by the remaining nineteen. Herodotus compares the value of gold to silver as 12 : 1. From the nineteen satrapies which paid in silver, there was levied annually the sum of 7740 Babylonian talents, equal to something about £1,800,000 sterling: from the Indians, who alone paid in gold, there was received a sum equal (at the rate of 1 : 12) to 489½ Babylonian talents of silver, or to about £1,200,000 sterling.³ To explain how it

Twenty satrapies, with a third tributary appointed to each.

¹ Herodotus, iii. 12.

² Respecting the administration of the ancient Persian empire, see Kennedy, *Geograph. Statist. of Persia*, pp. 26, 41, 45.

³ Herodotus, iii. 16. The list of Herodian satraps is extremely puzzling, as it names, which names have no chance of coinciding with accuracy. But it is possible to trace the large

sum which he assigns to have been levied from the Indians, through all the other items, included in the eastern satrap-paying districts, down to the province of India. Indeed both Herodotus and Strabo seem to have been misled by the change in some of the satrapies, and possibly smaller than the reality.

The total sum of 8239½ talents is

happened that this one colony was charged with a war equal to two. Still, of the aggregate charge on the other nations, Herodotus dwells upon the vast population, the extensive territory, and the abundant produce in gold, among those whom he calls Indians—the most-northern inhabitants of the earth, since beyond them there was nothing but uninhabitable sand—reaching, as far as we can trace it out, from Baktria southward along the Indus to its mouth, but how far eastward we cannot determine. Darius is said to have undertaken an expedition against them, and subdued them. Moreover, he is affirmed to have constructed and dispatched vessels down the Indus, from the city of Keapsipai and the territory of the Paktyes, in its upper regions, all the way down to its mouth: then into the Indian Ocean, round the peninsula of Arabia, and up the Red Sea to Egypt. The ships were commanded by a Greek—Sylion, of Karyanda on the south-western coast of Asia Minor;¹ who, if this statement be correct, executed a scheme of naval enterprise not only one hundred and seventy years earlier, but also far more extensive, than the famous voyage of Nearchus, ordered

and to have been timed by Alexander the Great, and on by successive kings as far as China, Bactria, the Caspian, Persopolis, Paenopolis, and elsewhere (Strabo, B. II. 10, 11; Plutarch, *Life*, 101). Presuming these nations to be Indians, or Japanese, islands (in the proposition of ² to Asia beyond which waters would be open to Japanese sailing), if they were Asia Minor, it would be equal to 21,000,000 sterling. The statements of Herodotus give other truly correct ones (B. II. 10, 11; Strabo, *Geogr.*, p. 1, 2, p. 3, 4; Plutarch, *Life*, p. 100). It is plain that the various authorities were different in different points, and each seems printed in accordance to the best authorities of each large nation without knowing some of the original sources on which they were founded. Thus there were no indications of gold and silver, in their compositions, respecting the statements of the Persian revenue given by Herodotus, see Strabo, *Geogr.*, ch. 1, 1, 2.

Alexander, however, in 330, estimated the population of the western Persian empire at about 2,000,000 souls, of which almost 5,000,000 added population, the rest remained: he also estimated the Persian revenues at about

1,000,000 talents, or 21,000,000 sterling. Herodotus estimated the population of Egypt at about 2,000,000 souls. Nearchus (p. 100) estimated something more than 2,000,000 souls: he mentioned the whole territory between the Euphrates and the Indian Sea as central place (p. 100) of some twenty millions of souls (p. 100). Strabo, *Geogr.*, p. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

The modern French authors compute not so much as the ancient half of the number, which covered all Arabia Desert and Upper Egypt.

¹ Herodotus, B. II. 10, p. 44. See the two chapters of Strabo on these two chapters, vol. II. p. 100–101 of the edit. of Paris.

It is certainly singular that neither Herodotus, nor Plutarch, nor Arrian, nor Strabo, take any notice of this remarkable voyage, completely omitted by Herodotus to have been approached. This silence however admits no sufficient reason for setting the narrative in question. The silence of the Persian Kings, mentioned by Herodotus, seems to be far more connected with the manner than with the nature of these voyages.

of Alexander the Great, who only went from the Indus to the Persian Gulf. The eastern portions of the Persian empire remained so unknown and unvisited until the Macedonian invasion, that we are unable to criticize the isolated statements of Herodotus. None of the Persian kings subsequent to Darius appear to have visited there, and whether the prodigious sum demanded from them according to the Persian contract was ever regularly levied may reasonably be doubted. At the same time, we may readily believe that the mountains in the northern parts of Persian India (Cebel and Little Thibet) were at that time extremely productive in gold, and that quantities of that metal, such as now appear almost fabulous, may have been often obtained. Inasmuch that the produce of gold in all parts of the earth, as far as history knows, is obtained exclusively near the surface; so that a country once rich in that metal may well have been exhausted of its whole supply, and left at a later period without any gold at all.

Of the numerous silver-paying satrapies, the most heavily imposed was Bactriana, which paid 1000 talents. The next in amount of charge was Egypt, paying 700 talents, besides the produce of the fish from the lake of Mariut: the remaining satrapies varied in amount, down as low as 750 talents, which was the sum charged on the western satrapy (on the annexation of Heracles) comprising the Satrapydes, the Oandari, the Eolians, and the Ageryas. The Ionians, Æolians, Mysians on the Mæander and on Mount Sipylus, Karians, Lykians, Milyans, and Pamphylians—including the coast of Asia Minor southward of Kark, and from thence round the southern promontory to Piondus—were rated as one division, paying 400 talents. Yet we may be sure that much more than this was really taken from the people, when we read that Magesias alone afterwards paid to Themistokles a revenue of 60 talents annually.* The Mysians and Lykians were included, with some others, in another division; and the Hellespontine Greeks in a third, with Phrygians, Bithynians, Paphlagonians, Mariandryans, and Syrians, paying 300 talents—nearly the same as was paid by Syria Proper, Phoenicia, and Judæa, with the island

Revenue
from the
lakes of
Mariut and
Egion.

* Thucyd. i. 108.

of Cyprus. Independent of this regular tribute, with the undisturbed areas collected over and above it, there were some dependent nations, which, though exempt from tribute, furnished considerable sums called presents. Further contributions were exacted for the maintenance of the vast army who always personally attended the king. One entire third of this last burden was borne by Babylon alone in consequence of its exorbitant fertility.¹ It was paid in produce, as indeed the peculiar productions of every part of the empire seem to have been sent up for the royal consumption.

However imperfectly we are now able to follow the geographical distribution of the subject nations as given by Herodotus, it is extremely valuable as the only preserved statistics remaining of the native Persian empire. The arrangement of countries, which he describes, underwent modification in subsequent times; at least it does not harmonize with various statements in the *Analais* of Xenophon, and in other authors who recount Persian affairs belonging to the fourth century B.C. But we find in no other author except Herodotus any native survey and distribution of the empire. It is indeed a new tendency which now manifests itself in the Persian, Darius, compared with his predecessors: not simply to conquer, to extort, and to give away—but to do all this with something like method and system,² and to define the obligations of the empire towards them. Another remarkable example of the same tendency is to be found in the fact, that Darius was the first Persian king who valued money. His coin both in gold and silver, the Daric, was the earliest product of a Persian mint.³ The revenue, as brought

¹ Herodotus, II. 171.

² Herodotus, II. 139. Compare the description of the climate and aspect of the Great King, in Polyænus, IV. 1, in which Herodotus is followed up, with accuracy, in p. 31.

³ *Plato*, *Lysis*, III. 12, p. 334.

⁴ Herodotus, II. 101. *Plutarch*, *Them.*

72.

The gold Daric, of the weight of the *Athenian drachma* (about Persian equivalent to 30 *Athenian drachmas*) (see *Plutarch*, *Them.*, *op. cit.* p. 334), would be about 160 *grains*. This is quite exactly the weight of the coin between gold and silver (in 12 *grains*) as required

whereas the ordinary ratio is, the 1000 *grains* to the ordinary gold coin, the 1000 *grains* to the ordinary silver coin. The gold Daric is equal to 20 *grains* of the ordinary gold coin, the 1000 *grains* to the ordinary silver coin. (See *Plutarch*, *Them.*, *op. cit.* p. 334.)

I cannot think, with Mr. Henry, that there is any reason for supposing either the name or the coin given to the other than Darius was of Babylon. Compare Herodotus, *op. cit.* p. 334.

⁵ Particular statements respecting the value of gold and silver, as well as the coin, are given in the *Analais* of Xenophon, *op. cit.* p. 334.

to be in metallic survey of various descriptions, was melted down separately, and poured in a fluid state into jars or surfaceware vessels. When the metal had cooled and hardened, the jar was broken, leaving a standing solid mass from which portions were cut off as the occasion required.¹ And in addition to these plate-armatures, braced, and monetary arrangements, of which Darius was the first originator, we may probably ascribe to him the first introduction of that system of roads, resting-places, and permanent relays of couriers, which connected both Rome and Alexandria with the distant portions of the empire. Herodotus describes in considerable detail the imperial road from Sardis to Susa, a journey of sixty days, crossing the Helix, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Greater and Lesser Zab, the Cydnus, and the Charax.² In his time it was kept in excellent order, with accommodations for travellers.³

It was Darius also who first completed the conquest of the Ionia Greeks by the acquisition of the important island of Samos. That island had maintained its independence, at the time when the Persians general Hæpæges effected the conquest of Ionia, and even when Chios and Lesbos submitted. The Persians had no fleet to attack it; nor had the Phœnicians yet been taught to round the T.ropæan Cape. Indeed the depredations which overtook the other cities of Ionia tended rather to the aggrandizement of Samos, under the energetic and unscrupulous disposition of Polykrates. That ambitious Samian, about ten years after the conquest of Sardis by Cyrus (scarcely between 550—548 B.C.), contrived to seize by force or fraud the government of his native island, with the aid of his brothers Pantagoræus and Syrkæus, and a small band of conspirators.⁴ At first the three brothers shared

Island of
Samos—its
position
on the
coast of
Ionia
Polykrates

with some reserves in the hands of very powerful nobles, whom we have seen the usual of conspirators gradually and systematically depose. For the process of change was imperceptibly performed, and the different pieces, both of gold and silver, by degrees, passed successively in weight and value into silver. Herodotus gives the tale of gold in silver at 12:1.

¹ Herodot. III. 95.

² Herodot. v. 52—57; vii. 31. * 11.

appears to be a Samian Man, with all his various powers and the freedom of the seas with opportunity to the natural strength of their dominions. The Yards and Phœnicians are necessary of the system; the public highway all Samians together, and the lawless as towards the Phœnicians." (Herodot. viii. 136, of Pers. p. 452.)

The description of Samos and its islands is very interesting, and is given by Strabo, viii. 11.

³ Herodot. III. 101.

The aqueous power; but powerfully Polykrates put to death Perseus, enriched Syriaca, and made himself despot there. In this station his ambition, his piety, and his good fortune were alike remarkable. He conquered several of the neighbouring islands, and even some towns on the mainland; he obtained an successful war against Miletus, and equally defeated the Lesbian ships which came to assist Miletus: he got together a force of one hundred armed ships called pentekonters, and one thousand mercenary bowmen—requiring no nothing less than the dominion of Ionia, with the islands in the Ægean. Alibi unable to stand and, fire by his indomitable spirit of aggression, he acquired a naval power which seems at that time to have been the greatest in the Greek world.¹ He had been in intimate alliance with Amasis king of Egypt, who however ultimately broke with him. Considering his behaviour towards Alibi, this rupture is not at all surprising; but Herodotus ascribes it to the charm which Amasis conceived at the uninterrupted and superhuman good fortune of Polykrates—a degree of good fortune were to draw down ultimately corresponding intensity of suffering from the hands of the various gods. Indeed Herodotus—deeply penetrated with this belief in an ever-present Nemesis, which allows no man to be very happy, or long happy, with impunity—threw it into the form of an apothecary warning from Amasis to Polykrates, advising him to inflict upon himself some unaccountable mischief or suffering; in other, if possible, to avert the ultimate judgment—to let blood in time, so that the pleasure of happiness might not end in apoplexy.² Pursuant to such counsel, Polykrates threw into the sea a favourite ring of matchless price and beauty; but unfortunately, in a few days, the ring reappeared in the belly of a fine fish, which a fisherman had sent to him as a present. Amasis, now determined that the final apoplexy was inevitable, broke off the alliance with Polykrates without delay. This well-known story, interesting as evidence of ancient belief, is not less to be noted as showing the power of that belief to lug out fabulous details out of real characters, such as I have already touched upon in the history of Solon and Croesus, and elsewhere.

¹ Herodotus, iii. 89; Thucyd. i. 16.

² Herodotus, iii. 89-91. See also the same notion expressed in various ways in the course of this—especially in the story of Croesus, iii. 44, and i. 81.

The facts mentioned by Herodotus rather lead us to believe that it was Polykrates, who, with characteristic selfishness, broke off his friendship with Anaxus;¹ finding it advisable to his policy to cultivate the alliance of Kambyses, when that prince was preparing for his invasion of Egypt. In that invasion the Ionian subjects of Persia were called upon to serve, and Polykrates, deeming it a good opportunity to rid himself of some Samian malcontents, sent to the Persian king to tender auxiliaries from himself. Kambyses eagerly caught at the prospect of aid from the first naval power in the Aegean; upon which forty Samian witnesses were sent to the Nile, having on board the suspected persons, as well as conveying a secret request to the Persian king that they might never be suffered to return. Either they never went to Egypt, however, or they found means to escape: very contradictory stories had reached Herodotus. But they certainly returned to Samos, attacked Polykrates at home, and were driven off by his superior force without making any impression. Whereupon they repaired to Sparta to solicit assistance.²

Polykrates breaks with a friend
Anaxus, king of Samos,
and allies himself with
Kambyses.

It may here notice the gradually increasing tendency in the Grecian world to recognize Sparta as something like a head, protector, or referee, in cases either of foreign danger or internal dispute. The earliest authentic instance known to us, of application to Sparta in this character, is that of Croesus against Cyrus; next, that of the Ionic Greeks against the latter: the instance of the Samians now before us is the third. The important events connected with, and consequent upon, the expulsion of the Peisistratids from Athens, manifesting yet more formally the leadership of Sparta, occur fifteen years after the present event; they have been already recounted in a previous chapter, and serve as a further proof of progress in the same direction. To watch the growth of these new political habits is essential to a right understanding of Grecian history.

On reaching Sparta, the Samian exiles, borne down with dependency and suffering, entered at large into the particulars of their case. Their long speaking arrayed instead of moving

¹ Herodot. III. 44.

² Herodot. III. 45.

the Spartans, who said, or are made to say—"We have forgotten the first part of the speech, and the last part is unintelligible to us". Upon which the Romans appeared the next day simply with an empty wallet, saying—"Our wallet has no meal in it". "Your wallet is empty" (said the Spartans); in the words, which they inspired was granted.

We are told that both the Lacedæmonians and the Corinthians—who joined them in the expedition now contemplated—had separate grounds of quarrel with the Romans; which operated as a more powerful motive than the simple desire to aid the suffering allies. But it rather seems that the subsequent Greeks generally construed the Lacedæmonian interference against Polytrachis as an example of standing Spartan hatred against despots. Indeed the only facts which we know, to sustain the anti-despotic sentiment for which the Lacedæmonians had acted, are their proceedings against Polytrachis and Hippas: there may have been other cases, but we cannot specify them with certainty.

The Lacedæmonians
with
the
Corinthians,
but are
retreated.

However that may be, a joint Lacedæmonian and Corinthian force accompanied the allies back to Senonæ, and assailed Polytrachis in the city: they did their best to capture it, for forty days, and were at one time on the point of succeeding, but were finally obliged to retire without any success. "The city would have been taken," says Herodotus, "if all the Lacedæmonians had acted like Archias and Lydiæus"—who, pressing closely upon the retreating Romans, were shot within the town-gates, and perished. The historian had heard this explicit in personal conversation with Archias, grandson of the person above-mentioned, in the domus Pisonis at Sparta—whose father had been named Senonæ, and who reported the Romans above any other Greeks, because they had bestowed upon the two brave warriors, slain within their town, an honourable and public funeral.¹ It is surely that Herodotus does specifies his informants: had he done so more frequently, the value as well as the interest of his history would have been materially increased.

¹ Herodotus, lib. vii. of Sicily, cap. 10.
p. 106.

² Herodotus, lib. vii. cap. 10.
³ Herodotus, lib. vii. cap. 10.

of the professed policy of despotism, to occupy as well as to overpower these subjects.¹ The master of all Grecian thalassocracies, or sea-kings—master of the greatest naval force in the Ægean, as well as of many among its islands—he displayed his love of leisure by friendship to Anaktoria, and his policy by conquesting to the Delian Apollo² the neighbouring island of Rhénaia. But while thus celebrating all his contemporaneous victories over Sparta and Corinth, and projecting further aggressions, he was precipitated on a sudden into the sleep of ruin,³ and that too, as if to demonstrate unequivocally the agency of the various gods, not from the revenge of any of his numerous victims, but from the gratuitous malice of a stranger whom he had never wronged and never even seen. The Persian eunuch Orotes, on the neighbouring mainland, contrived an implausible hatred against him: no one could tell why—for he had no design of attacking the island; and the trifling reasons conjecturally assigned only prove that this real cause, whatever it might be, was unknown. Availing himself of the notorious enmities and jealousy of Polykrates, Orotes sent to Samos a messenger, pretending that his life was menaced by Karkydia, and that he was anxious to make his escape with his abundant treasures. He proposed to Polykrates a share in this treasure, sufficient to make him master of all Greece, as far as that object could be achieved by money, provided the Samian prince would come over to convey him away. Menedaios, secretary of Polykrates, was

He is shown
by the
Persian
eunuch
Orotes.

sent over to Magesia on the Mægarean to make
inquiry. He there saw the eunuch with eight large
coffers full of gold—or rather apparently so, being an
cassidy full of stones, with a layer of gold at the top;⁴

and up ready for departure. The cupidity of Polykrates was
not proof against so rich a bait. He crossed over to Magesia
with a considerable suite, and then came into the power of
Orotes, in spite of the warnings of his prophets and the agency
of his terrified daughter, to whom his approaching fate had been
revealed in a dream. The eunuch slew him and enriched his body;

¹ *Æschylus, Persæ, v. 3, 4.* *see sup.*
Master says (Hæschylus) *where the*
eyes, hands, mouth, together and
within the thalassocracies.

² *Thucyd. i. 10, 11, 12.*

³ *Herodotus, iii. 120.*

⁴ Compare the words of Menedaios at
Samos to Karkydia—*Corinthian Report,*
Æschylus, v. 2.

releasing all the Samians who accompanied him, with an intimation that they ought to thank him for procuring them a free government, but retaining both the foreigners and the slaves as prisoners.¹ The death of Gracchus himself, which ensued shortly afterwards, has already been described: it is considered by Herodian as a judgment for his infamous deed in the case of Polykrates.²

At the departure of the letter from Samos, in anticipation of a speedy return, Hierodorus had been left as his lieutenant at Samos; and the unexpected catastrophe of Polykrates filled him with surprise and consternation. Though possessed of the fortress, the soldiers, and the treasures, which had constituted the machinery of his powerful master, he knew the risk of trying to employ them on his own account. Partly from this apprehension, partly from the genuine political morality which prevailed with more or less force in every Greek town, he resolved to lay down his authority and enfranchise the island. "He wished (says the historian in a remarkable phrase³) to act like the justest of men; but he was not allowed to do so." His first proceeding was to erect on the suburbs an altar, in honour of Zeus Hierotherios, and to enclose a piece of ground as precinct, which still exists in the time of Herodian; he next convened an assembly of the Samians. "You know (said he) that the whole power of Polykrates is now in my hands, and that there is nothing to hinder me from continuing to rule over you. Nevertheless what I resolve in another I will not do myself; and I have always disapproved of Polykrates, and others like him, for seeking to rule over men as good as themselves. Now that Polykrates has come to the end of his destiny, I at once lay down the command, and procure among you equal law; reserving to myself as privileges, first, six talents out of the treasures of Polykrates—next, the hereditary priesthood of Zeus Hierotherios for myself and my descendants for ever. To him I have just set apart a sacred precinct, so the God of that freedom which I now hand over to you."

Hierodorus, lieutenant of Polykrates, is called by Herodian the justest of men, who was not allowed to do so.

¹ Herodian. lib. iii. 128.

² Herodian. lib. iii. 129. "Gracchus, who was a man of great power."

³ Herodian. lib. iii. 129. "of the justest of men."

Herodian. lib. iii. 129. "Gracchus, who was a man of great power, who was not allowed to do so."

This reasonable and generous proposition fully justified the epithet of Hierodotus. But very differently was it received by the Spartan leaders. One of the chief men among them, Telearchus, exclaiming with the applause of the rest, "You rule us, low-born and scorned as you are! you are not worthy to rule: don't think of that, but give us some account of the money which you have been handling!"¹

Such an unexpected reply caused a total revolution in the mind of Alcibiades. It left him no choice but to maintain dominion at all hazards, which he resolved to do. Seeking into the acropolis under pretence of preparing his money accounts for examination, he sent for Telearchus and his chief political enemies, one by one—insinuating that the accounts were open to inspection. As fast as they arrived they were put in chains, while Alcibiades remained in the acropolis, with his soldiers and his treasure, as the avowed successor of Polykrates. After a short hour of insane beneficence, the Spartans forced themselves again enslaved. "It seemed (says Herodotus) that they were not willing to be free."²

We cannot but contrast their conduct on this occasion with that of the Athenians about twelve years afterwards, on the expulsion of Hippias, which has been recounted in a previous chapter. The position of the Spartans was far the more favourable of the two, for the quiet and successful working of a free government; since they had the advantage of a voluntary as well as a slave's resignation from the actual despot. Yet the thirst for reactionary investigation, prevented them even from taking a reasonable estimate of their own power of suffering it. They passed at once from extreme subjection to overbearing and violent rashness. Whereas the Athenians, under circumstances far less promising, avoided the fatal mistake of regarding the prospects of the future in recollections of the past; showed themselves both anxious to acquire the rights, and willing to perform the obligations, of a free community; listened to wise counsels, restrained unwhimsical action, and overcame by heroic effort forms very greatly superior. If we compare the reflections of

¹ Herodot. lib. 1.21. "Αὐτὸν δὲ" ὅτι καὶ

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἡγήσας, ὡς ἂν ἐν αὐτῷ
αὐτὸν ἐκείνηται· ἀπὸ πάλιν ἐκείνηται

² Herodot. lib. 1.22. αὐτὸν γὰρ ὅτι, ὡς
ἐκείνηται, ἐκείνηται ἐκείνηται.

Hercules on the one side and on the other,¹ we shall be struck with the difference which these relations imply between the Athenians and the Sicilians—a difference partly sensible, doubtless, to the pure Hellenism of the former, contrasted with the half-degraded Hellenism of the latter, but also traceable in a great degree to the preliminary lessons of the Solonian constitution, overlaid, but not extinguished, during the despotism of the Peisistratids which followed.

The events which succeeded in Sicily are little better than a series of crimes and calamities. The prisoners, whose Menedæus had detained in the acropolis, were starved during his imprisonment here, by his brother Polykrates, under the idea that this would enable him more easily to seize the sceptre. But Menedæus recovered, and must have continued as despot for a year or two. It was however a weak despotism, contested more or less in the island, and very different from the iron hand of Polykrates. In its weakened condition the Sicilians were surprised by the arrival of a new champion for their sceptre and acropolis, and, what was much more formidable, a Persian army to back him.

Sylveus the brother of Polykrates, having taken part originally in his brother's conspiracy and usurpation, had been at first allowed to share the fruits of it, but quickly found himself belied. In the exile he remained during the whole life of Polykrates, and until the accession of Darius to the Persian throne, which followed about a year after the death of Polykrates. He happened to be at Memphis in Egypt during the time when Kambyses was there with his conquering army, and when Darius, then a Persian of little note, was serving among his guards. Sylveus was walking in the agas of Meneptah, wearing a scarlet cloak, to which Darius took a great fancy, and proposed to buy it. A divine inspiration prompted Sylveus to reply, "I cannot for any price sell it; but I give it you for nothing, if it must be yours." Darius thanked him and accepted the cloak; and for some years the donor adorned himself of a silly piece of good nature.² But as events came round, Sylveus at length heard with surprise

Sylveus, brother of Polykrates, having been a Persian ally in his brother's usurpation.

¹ Herodot. v. 26, and vi. 126, 127.
² Herodot. vi. 126. "O. G. Sylveus, after the capture of his brother's kingdom."

etc. Sylveus, being a Persian ally, when Kambyses was there, and Darius was a Persian of little note, was serving among his guards.

that the unknown Persian, whom he had presented with the cloak at Memphis, was installed as king in the palace at Sam. He went thither, proclaimed himself as a Greek, the benefactor of the new king, and was admitted to the royal presence. Darius had forgotten his person, but perfectly remembered the adventures of the cloak, when it was brought to his mind—and showed himself forward to requite, on the scale becoming the Great King, former heroism, though small, rendered to the simple soldier at Memphis. Gold and silver were tendered to Syllacis in profusion, but he rejected them—requesting that the island of Samos might be conquered and handed over to him, without slaughter or enslavement of inhabitants. His request was complied with. Otanes, the originator of the conspiracy against Samos, was sent down to the coast of Ionia with an army, carried Syllacis over to Samos, and landed him respectfully on the island.¹

Macedonia was in no condition to resist the invasion, nor were the Samians generally disposed to sustain him. He accordingly concluded a convention with Otanes, whereby he agreed to make way for Syllacis, to evacuate the island, and to admit the Persians at once into the city: retaining possession, however, for such time as might be necessary to embark his property and treasures, of the acropolis, which had a separate landing-place, and even a subterranean passage and secret portal for embarkation—probably one of the precautionary provisions of Polycrates. Otanes willingly granted these conditions, and himself with his principal officers entered the town, the army being quartered around; while Syllacis assumed on the point of ascending the seat of his deceased brother without violence or bloodshed. But the Samians were devoted to a fate more calamitous. Macedonia had a brother named Charicles, violent in his temper and half a madman, whom he was obliged to keep in confinement. This man, looking out of his chamber-window, saw the Persian officers seated peacefully throughout the town and even under the gates of the acropolis, unguarded, and relying upon the convention: it seems that there were the chief officers whose rank gave them the privilege of being carried about on their seats.² The sight inflamed both his

¹ Herodotus, vi. 145—146.

² Herodotus, vi. 146. vide *Supra*.

vide *Herodotus* vi. 146. *vide* *Supra*.

swath and life means extinction. He clamored for liberty and salvation to his brother, whom he reviled as a coward no less than a tyrant. "These are you, worthless man, Ho-ang-tso, your own brother, in a dungeon, though I have done no wrong worthy of bonds; while you do not dare to take your revenge on the Persians, who are casting you out as a homeless exile, and whom it would be so easy to put down. If you are afraid of them, give me your guards; I will make the Persians repent of their cowardice, and I will send you safely out of the island forthwith."

Myndria, on the point of quitting Sams for ever, had had a personal motive to care what became of the population. He had probably never forgiven them for disappointing his homosexual intentions after the death of Poliphrastis, nor was he displeased to hand over to Styliadis an allison and blood-stained sceptre, which he himself would be the only consequence of his brother's mad

project. He therefore set out early with his troops, leaving the acropolis to his brother Charilæus; who immediately armed the garrisons, called forth from his fortress, and attacked the encamping Persians. Many of the great officers were slain without resistance before they could be got together; but at length Otanes collected his troops and drove the assailants back into the acropolis. While he immediately began the siege of that fortress, he also resolved, as Mæandrius had foreseen, to take a signal revenge for the treacherous slaughter of so many of his friends and companions. His army, no less incensed than himself, were directed to fall upon the Sardinian people and massacre them without discrimination—man and boy, on ground sacred as well as profane. The bloody order was too faithfully executed, and Sardinia was headed over to Sydon's, stripped of its male inhabitants.² Of Charilæus and the acropolis we hear no further; perhaps he and his garrisons may have escaped by sea. Syrtætius,³ the other brother of Mæandrius, must have remained either in the service of Sydon or in that of the Persians: for we find him

[illegible]

The highly sensitive nature of fluorophore stains is useful, despite their usually limited stability.

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1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

some years afterwards entrusted by the latter with an important command.

Sylvestra was then finally settled as *largely* of an island peopled chiefly, if not wholly, with women and children: we may however presume that the deed of blood has been described by the historian as more sweeping than it really was. It seems nevertheless to have not heavily on the conscience of Otanes, who was induced some time afterwards, by a dream and by a painful disease, to take measures for repopulating the island.* From whence the new population came, we are not told; but wholesale translations of inhabitants from one place to another were familiar to the mind of a Persian king or satrap.

Masandria, following the example of the previous Saxon cities under Polytarcha, went to Sparta and sought aid for the purpose of re-establishing herself at Samos. But the Lacedæmonians had no disposition to repeat an attempt which had before turned out so unsuccessfully, nor could he induce king Kleomenes by the display of his treasures and finely-worked gold plate. The king, however, not without fear that such seductions might win over some of the Spartan leading men, prevailed with the ephors to send Masandria away.

Sylvestra seems to have remained undisturbed at Samos, as a tributary of Persia, like the least cities on the continent; some years afterwards we find his son *Stasos* reigning in the island.† Stasos states that it was the harsh rule of Sylvestra which caused the depopulation of the island. But the cause just recounted out of Herodotus is both very different and sufficiently plausible in itself; and as Stasos seems in the main to have derived his account from Herodotus, we may suppose that on this point he has incorrectly remembered his authority.‡

* Herodotus, vii. 106.

† Herodotus, vii. 106.

‡ Herodotus, vii. 106.

Herodotus, vii. p. 438. He gives a general plan about the depopulation

size of the island—

"*Expositio descriptiva*." which is perfectly consistent with the narrative of Herodotus.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MEMORANDA.—DARIUS INVADÉS SCYTHIA.

Darius had now acquired full authority throughout the Persian empire, having put down the refractory satrap Gyndis, as well as the revolted Medes and Babylonians. He had moreover completed the conquest of India, by the important addition of Sauras; and his dominions thus comprised all Asia Minor with its neighbouring islands. But this was not sufficient for the ambition of a Persian king, next but one in succession to the great Cyrus. The conquering impulses were yet unquenched among the Persians, who thought it incumbent upon their king, and whose king thought it incumbent upon himself, to extend the limits of the empire. Though not of the lineage of Cyrus, Darius had taken pains to connect himself with it by marriage: he had married Atossa and Artystash, daughters of Cyrus—and Parysatis, daughter of Smerdis the younger son of Cyrus. Atossa had been first the wife of her brother Xerxes; next, of the Magian Smerdis his successor; and thirdly of Darius, to whom she bore four children.* Of these children the eldest was Xerxes, supposing whom more will be said hereafter.

Atossa, mother of the only Persian king who ever set foot in Greece—the Salticus Pelides of Persia during the reign of Xerxes—was a person of commanding influence in the reign of her last husband,† as well as in that of her son, and filled no inconsiderable space even in Grecian imagination, as we may see both by *Æschylus* and *Herodotus*. Had

* Herodot. vi. 86, vii. 1.

† Herodot. vii. 1. In this passage also it is implied. Compare the description of her in *Æschylus*.

Also given of the ancestry of the magus Artabanus Parysatis was her son, a Persian Magus. (Herodot. vii. 106, viii. 13, 14, 15.)

her influence prevailed, the first conquering appetite of Darius would have been directed not against the steppes of Scythia, but against Asia and Peloponnesus; at least so Herodotus avers us. The grand object of that historian is to set forth the contumacious of Hellas with the barbarians or non-Hellonic world. Accordingly with an art truly epic, which manifests itself everywhere in the careful reader of his nine books, he pretends to the real dangers which were averted at Marathon and Salamis by recounting the first conception of an invasion of Greece by the Persians—how it originated and how it was defeated. For this purpose—according to his historical style, wherein general facts are set forth as subordinate and explanatory accompaniments to the adventures of particular persons—he gives us the interesting but romantic history of the Erechthean surgeon Dinarchides.

Dinarchides, son of a citizen of Eretria named Kalliphon, had turned his attention in early youth to the study and practice of medicine and surgery (for that age, we can make no difference between the two) and had made considerable progress in it. His youth advanced nearly with the arrival of Pythagoras at Eretria (540—530); a time when the sciences of the surgeon as well as the art of the grammarian teacher were practised in that city more actively than in any part of Greece. Kalliphon, the father of Dinarchides, was a man of such severe temper, that the son ran away from him and resolved to maintain himself by his talents elsewhere. Retiring to Sygus, he there began to practise in his profession. So rapid was his success even in the first year—though very imperfectly equipped with instruments and apparatus¹—that the citizens of the island made a contract

¹ Herodot. II. 107. Dinarchides says that, at Sygus where the son was, the Erechthei desired him—his description seems to apply rather than to medical practice.

That curious assemblage of the names of particular persons with countries, tribes, in the works of Herodotus under the title *Topographia* (Geographical) is of interest value, is very instructive of what Herodotus has written about *Topographia*. Consult also the valuable *Topographia* of M. Letron.

In his edition of Herodotus, as to the *Topographia*, means of letters, and transcriptions of the Greek text; see particularly the preface to vol. i. p. 14, where the numerous names of places visited and noted by Herodotus. The greater portion of the *Topographia* disquisitions refer to various parts of Thracia, Macedonia, and Thessaly, but there are some also which come by mistake to the notice of Syria and India as Arabia, Bactria, Persia, Carthage, and others in other

a Greek surgeon among the slaves of Circé. Search was immediately made, and the man whose slave was brought, in chains as well as in cage,¹ into the presence of the royal sufferer. Being asked whether he understood surgery, he affected ignorance; but Darwin, suspecting this to be a mere artifice, ordered out the accorde and the pricking instrument to examine it. Dincheidte now saw that there was no mistake, admitted that he had acquired some little skill, and was called upon to do his utmost in the case before him. He was fortunate enough to succeed perfectly, in alleviating the pain, in procuring sleep for the exhausted patient, and ultimately in restoring the foot to a sound state. Thence, who had abandoned all hopes of such a cure, knew no bounds to his gratitude. As a first reward, he presented him with two ounces of choice solid gold—a commemoration of the state in which Dincheidte had first come before him. His next visit was into the harem to visit his wives. The confiding eunuchs introduced him as the man who had restored the king to life, upon which the grateful ladies each gave to him a smaller ball of golden coins called *staters*;² in all so numerous, that the slave Skéto who followed him was stretched by merely picking up the pieces which dropped on the floor. This was not all. Darwin gave him a splendid house and furniture, made him the companion of his table, and showed him every description of favour. He was about to reward the Egyptian surgeons who had been so unsuccessful in their attempts to cure him. But Dincheidte had the happiness of preserving their lives, as well as of rendering an unfortunate companion of his imprisonment—an Elean prophet, who had followed the fortunes of Polyxène.

But there was one favour which Darwin would on no account grant; yet upon this one Dincheidte had set his heart—the liberty of returning to Greece. At length accident, combined with his own magical skill, enabled him to escape from the

¹ Herodotus, ii. 126, also in the Helios in which 'Circée' is mentioned; but the circumstances, especially the name, differ so far from the present description.

² Herodotus, ii. 126. The golden stater was equal in value to the drachma.

Herodotus, ii. 126, also in the Helios in which 'Circée' is mentioned; but the circumstances, especially the name, differ so far from the present description.

The golden ball of Polyxène is mentioned in the same book; but the circumstances, especially the name, differ so far from the present description.

splendour of his several detentions, as it had before enticed him
 from the railway of the first. A hero-or friend upon
 the breast of Athena: at first she said nothing to any
 one, but it became too bad for concealment, and she
 was forced to consult Diocletian. He promised to
 over-her, but required from her a solemn oath that
 she would afterwards do for him anything which he
 should ask—pledging himself at the same time to ask
 nothing indecent. The cure was successful, and Athena was
 required to repay it by procuring his liberty. Knowing that the
 threat would be refused, even to her, if directly solicited, she
 sought her strategies for obtaining under his person the
 consent of Demos. She took an early opportunity (Hecuba
 relates, in bed) of reminding Demos that the Parthenon expected
 from him some positive addition to the present splendour of
 the empire; and when Demos, in answer, acquainted her that he
 wanted, later a speedy expedition against the Scythians, she
 invited him to postpone it and to turn his forces first against
 Greece—"I have heard (she said) about the murders of Sparta,
 Athens, Argos, and Corinth, and I want to have some of them re-
 stored to serve me—[we may imagine the smile of triumph with
 which the sons of those who had conspired at Plata and Salamis
 would hear the part of the history read by Hecuba]—you have
 near you the best person possible to give information about
 Greece—that Greek who saved your feet". Demos was induced
 by this request to send some confidential Pansian into Greece to
 procure information, along with Diocletian. Selecting three
 of these, he ordered them to survey the coast and cities of
 Greece, under guidance of Diocletian, but with peremptory orders
 upon no account to let him escape or to return without him. The
 next sent for Diocletian himself, explained to him what he
 wanted, and enjoined him imperatively to return as soon as the
 business had been completed. He further desired him to carry
 away all the simple domestics which he had already received, as
 presents to his father and brothers, promising that on his return

His pro-
 vider, her-
 friends, for to take
 through the
 friends of
 Athens, he returns
 to Greece.

[illegible]

¹ M. J. Griffin, *et al.*, 1998, *Acoustics*, 10, 100-105. This article also has a very good discussion of the importance of the 'average' period of the signal and the effect of the 'average' period on the results of the analysis.

as a French citizen, did not begin international relations until the war was declared, and he was not to leave until 1944. French, 1:163.

Each denarius of equal value should make up the loss. Lastly, he directed that a store-ship, "filled with all manner of good things," should accompany the voyage. Dinachides undertook the mission with every appearance of sincerity. The better to play his part, he declared to take away what he already possessed at home—saying, that he should like to find his property and furniture again on coming back, and that the store-ship alone, with its contents, would be sufficient both for the voyage and for all necessary presents.

Accordingly he and the fifteen Persian troops went down to Sidon in Phœnicia, where two armed triremes were equipped, with a large store-ship in company. The voyage of survey into Greece was commenced. They sailed and examined all the principal places in Greece—probably beginning with the Asiatic and Ionian Greeks, crossing to Eubœa, circumnavigating Attica and Peloponnesos, then passing to Sicily and Italy. They surveyed the coasted cities, taking memoranda of everything worthy of note which they saw. Such a Periplus, if it had been preserved, would have been invaluable, as an account of the actual state of the Greeks about B.C. 480. As soon as they arrived at Tarentum, Dinachides—now within a short distance of his own home, Kroton—found an opportunity of recovering what he had meditated from the beginning. At his request, Aristophilos the king of Tarentum seized the fifteen Persians and detained them as spies, at the same time taking the soldiers from off their ships—while Dinachides himself made his escape to Kroton. As soon as he had arrived there, Aristophilos released the Persians; who, pursuing their voyage, went on to Kroton, found Dinachides in the market-place, and laid hands upon him. But his fellow-citizens rescued him, not without opposition from some who were afraid of provoking the Great King—and in spite of remonstrances, entreaties and ransom, from the Persians themselves. Indeed, the Krotonians not only protected the rescued sails, but even refitted the features of their store-ship. The latter, disabled from proceeding farther as well by this loss as by the sickness of Dinachides, was returned

¹ Herodotus, II. 126. *σπέρματα δὲ σκῆψις καὶ ἀντιπλοῖον σκῆψιν καὶ ἀντιπλοῖον.*

their voyage homeward, but unfortunately suffered shipwreck near the Iapygian cape, and became slaves in that neighbourhood. A Thracian slave, named Cilix, purchased them, and carried them up to Samos—a service for which Darius promised him any recompense that he chose. Restoration to his native city was all that Cilix asked; and that too, not by force, but by the mediation of the Asiatic Greeks of Kardia, who were on terms of intimate alliance with the Thracians. This generous citizen—as becometh custom to Demokleia, who had not scrupled to leap the stream of Perseus amongst against his country, in order to procure her own release—was unfortunately disappointed of his anticipated recompense. For through the Kardians, at the suggestion of Darius, employed all their influence at Thracians to procure a revocation of the sentence of exile, they were unable to succeed, and hence was cut off the question.¹ The last words addressed by Demokleia at parting to his Persian companions, exhorted them to acquiesce in Samos that he (Demokleia) was about to marry the daughter of the Kardiastis Miko—one of the best men in Kardia as well as the greatest warrior of his time. The reputation of Miko was very great with Darius—probably from the tale of Demokleia himself: moreover gigantic muscular force would be appreciated by men who had no selfish either for Homer or Odysseus. And thus did this clever and valiant Greek, sending back his fellow Persian companions to disgrace and perhaps to death, deposit in their parting care a haggard message, calculated to create for himself a fabulous name at Samos. He paid a large sum to Miko as the price of his daughter, for this very purpose.²

Version of Demokleia about the capture of Cilix—by Herakles and Miko—about his Persian connections.

Comments on which points have been pointed by Lucian in *Veritas* and other satirical works. The narrative is a composite fiction.

Thus finishes the history of Demokleia, and of the "Great Persians (so use the phrase of Herodotus) who ever came over from Asia into Greece."³ It is a history well deserving of attention, even looking only to the evidence of the incidents, introducing us as they do into the full movement of the ancient world—into

¹ Herodotus, vi. 127, 128.

² Herodotus, vi. 127, and ix. 124, 125.

These versions are given rather incidentally.

Herodotus, vi. 127, 128, and ix. 124, 125.

³ Herodotus, vi. 128.

besides which their contact had so provoked the Persians that resistance was then a matter of necessity with them, and submission on tolerable terms an impossibility. When we come to the great Persian invasion of Greece, we shall see that Athens was the life and soul of all the opposition offered. We shall see further, that with all the efforts of Athens, the success of the defence was more than once doubtful; and would have been converted into a very different result if Xerxes had listened to the best of his own counselors. But had Darius—at the head of the very same force which he conducted into Scythia, or even an inferior force—landed at Marathon in 514 B.C., instead of meeting Datis in 490 B.C., he would have found no men like the victors of Marathon to meet him. As far as we can appreciate the probabilities, he would have met with little resistance except from the Spartans singly, who would have maintained their own very defensible territory against all his efforts, like the Mysians and Phocians in Asia Minor, or like the Malacote of Iacoma in later days; but Hellas generally would have become a Persian satrapy. Fortunately, Darius, while bent on invading some country, had set his mind on the attack of Scythia, a life perilous and unprofitable. His personal ardour was wasted on these unconquerable regions, where he narrowly escaped the dangerous life of Cyrus—not did he ever pay a second visit to the coasts of the Egean. Yet the anonymous influence of Athens, set at work by Democritus, might well have been sufficiently powerful to induce Darius to assail Greece instead of Scythia—a choice in favour of which all other recommendations concurred; and the history of free Greece would then probably have stopped at this point, without unfolding any of the glories which followed. So incalculably great has been the influence of Greek development, during the two centuries between 500–300 B.C., on the destinies of mankind, that we cannot pass without notice a contingency which threatened to arrest that development in the bud. Indeed it may be remarked that the history of any nation, considered as a sequence of causes and effects allowing applicable knowledge, requires us to study not merely real events, but also imminent contingencies—events which were on the point of occurring, but yet did not occur. When we read the writings of Athens in the form of *Æschylus*, for the banishment which her

fact, and 680 ships, according to Herodotus. On these prodigious numbers we can lay no stress. But it appears that the names of all the various nations composing the host were inscribed on two pillars, erected by order of Darius on the European side of the Bosphorus, and afterwards seen by Herodotus himself in the city of Byzantium—the inscriptions were bilingual, in Assyrian characters as well as Greek. The Persian satrapat Mandrobatis had been directed to throw a bridge of boats across the Bosphorus, about half-way between Byzantium and the mouth of the Bosphorus; so presumptuous were the Persian kings that their orders for military service should be punctually obeyed, and so impatient were they of the idea of exceptions, that when a Persian father named Chelone murmured that one of his three sons, all included in the conscription, might be left at home, Darius replied that all three of them should be left at home—an answer which the unsuspecting father heard with delight. They were indeed all left at home—for they were all put to death.¹ A proceeding similar to this is recorded afterwards in Xerxes;² whether true or not as matters of fact, they illustrate the wonderful despotisms with which the Persian kings were known to receive such petitions for exemption.

The naval force of Darius seems to have consisted entirely of subject-Greeks, Asiatic and Ionian; for the Phœnician fleet was not brought into the *Ægean* until the subsequent Ionic revolt. At this time all or most of the Asiatic Greek cities were under despots, who (The naval force formed of Asiatic and Greek vessels.) loaned on the Persian government for support, and who appeared with their respective contingents to take part in the *Syriatic* expedition.³ Of Ionic Greeks were seen—Stratias, despot of Chios; Sabas son of Syntas, despot of Samos; Leobanes, of Phœnia; and Melanes, of Miletus. From the *Æolia* towns, Aristagoras of Kynos; from the *Hellepontine* Greeks, Daphnia of Abydos, Hippodinos of Lampsaia, Hierophantos of Parium, Metrodorus of Ptolemaia, Aristagoras of Erythra, and Miltades of the Troad—Chersonese—all these are mentioned, and there were probably more. This large fleet, assembled at the Bosphorus, was sent forward into the *Euxine*

¹ Herodot. iv. 84.² Herodot. vii. 32.³ Herodot. ii. 97, 127, 138.

to the mouth of the Danube—with orders to sail up the river two days' journey, above the point where its channel began to divide, and to throw a bridge of boats over it. Darius, having recently reconquered the architect Maselekles, crossed the bridge over the Bosphorus, and began his march through Thrace, securing the submission of various Thracian tribes as he went, and subduing others—especially the Getæ north of Mount Hæmus, who were compelled to increase still further the numbers of his vast army.¹ On arriving at the Danube, he found the bridge finished and prepared for his passage by the Isaurians. We may remark here, as on so many other occasions, that all operations requiring intelligence are performed for the Pontians either by Greeks or by Phrygians—more usually by the former. He crossed this greatest of all earthly rivers²—for so the Danube was supposed to be in the fifth century B.C.—and directed his march into Scythia.

As far as the point now attained, our narrative runs smoothly and intelligibly: we know that Darius marched his army into Scythia, and that he came back with ignominy and severe loss. But as to all which happened between his crossing and reaching the Danube, we find nothing approaching to authentic statement, nor even what we can set forth as the probable basis of truth on which conjecturing history has been at work—all is impenetrable mystery. Ktæsis indeed says that Darius marched for fifteen days into the Scythian territory—that he then exchanged bows with the king of Scythia and discovered the Scythian bow to be the largest—and that being intimidated by such discovery, he fled back to the bridge by which he had crossed the Danube, and retreated the more with the loss of one-tenth part of his army,³ being compelled to break down the bridge

¹ Herodotus, iv. 82-85.

² Herodotus, iv. 48-55. Darius, according to some ancient writers, did not reach the sea.

³ Ktæsis, *Parthica*, c. 17. Justin, c. 1, compares also, correctly, it seems to follow the authorities of Ktæsis.

Justinus says, that, who presents the decorated Danube as a glorious one, look with the same bewilderment at the splendid outposts which he made

by means of them.—"without reaching the Scythian territory, and having his boats." We are led to suppose, by the language which Justinus uses, that the plan of the building of boats on the spot, that he had proposed to build bridges across the Bosphorus by order of Darius, but the latter is made to suppose, precisely the further eastward of Scythia he is building over the Bosphorus.

before all had passed. The length of march is here the only thing distinctly stated; about the direction nothing is said; but the narrative of Kildan, defective as it is, is much less perplexing than that of Herodotus, who conducts the immense host of Darius as it were through a labyrinth—between mountains, bays, narrowing straits, want of all cultivation or supplies, destruction of the country (in so far as it could be destroyed) by the voracious Scythians, &c. He tells us that the Persians were acquainted chiefly of foot—that there were no roads nor expeditions; nor has he ever carried us over about twelve degrees of longitude from the Danube to the country east of the Tana, across the great Tyana (Derbent), Hypanis (Don), Borythene (Dnieper), Bysakyr, Gauran, and Tanais! How these rivers could have been passed in the face of snows by so vast a host, we are left to conjecture, since it was not winter-time to convert them into ice; nor does the historian even allude to them as having been crossed either in the advance or in the retreat. What is not less remarkable is that, in respect to the Greek settlements of Olbia or Borythene, and the agricultural Scythians and Mithallians between the Hypanis and Borythene, across whose country it would seem that the march of Darius must have passed him—Herodotus does not say anything, though we should have expected that he would have had better means of informing himself about this part of the march than about any other, and though the Persians could hardly have failed to plunder or put in requisition them, the only productive cause of Scythia.

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to know
about
the world
around you.

The narrative of Huxford in regard to the Fenian march north of the lake seems indeed fantastic of all the conditions of reality. It is rather an imaginative description, illustrating the dramatic and unrealistic character of Scottish writers, and

¹ Bhandari, p. 135. See also the discussion of the various forms of the word *dharm* in the *Arthashastra*, and the links with *dharmashastra*, given in my forthcoming book *Law, Ethics and Economics*, London, and in my forthcoming book *The Law of the Land*, London, and in my forthcoming book *The Law of the Land*, London.

The Republic and city of San Marino are surrounded by Italy, but are not part of Italy. The Republic of San Marino is a small, landlocked country in the heart of Italy. It is a sovereign state, but it is not a member of the United Nations. The Republic of San Marino is a small, landlocked country in the heart of Italy. It is a sovereign state, but it is not a member of the United Nations.

[illegible]

And he expects to boost the volume of trade even when he is dominating the African market.

grouping in the same picture, according to that large sweep of the imagination which is allowable in epic treatment, the Scythians with all their barbarous neighbours from the Carpathian mountains to the river Volga.¹ The Agathyroi, the Eneti, the Anabryzi, the Melanchioni, the Budini, the Gelæi, the Sarmatæ, and the Tauri—all of them bordering on that vast quadrangular area of 4000 stades for each side, called Scythia, as Herodotus announces it²—are brought into action in consequence of the Persian approach. And Herodotus takes that opportunity of communicating valuable particulars respecting the habits and manners of each. The kings of these nations discuss whether Darius is justified in his invasion, and whether it be prudent in them to aid the Scythians. The latter question is decided in the affirmative by the Sarmatæ, the Budini, and the Gelæi, all westward of the Tauri³—in the negative by the rest. The Scythians, removing their waggon with their wives and children out of the way northward, retreat and draw Darius after them from the Danube all across Scythia and Sarmatia to the north-eastern extremity of the territory of the Budini;⁴ several days' journey eastward of the Tauri. Moreover they destroy the wells and ruin the herbage as much as they can, so that during all this long march says Herodotus the Persians "found nothing to damage, inasmuch as the country was barren". We can hardly understand therefore what they found to live upon. It is in the territory of the Budini, at this extremest terminus to the borders of the desert, that the Persians perform the only positive acts which are ascribed to them throughout the whole expedition. They burn the wooden wall before occupied, but now deserted, by the Gelæi; and they build, or begin to build, eight large fortresses near the river Curus. For what purpose these fortresses could have been intended Herodotus gives no intimation; but he says that the unfinished work was yet to be seen even in his day.⁵

¹ Herodotus, iv. 118.

² Herodotus, iv. 118, 119.

³ Herodotus, iv. 118—119.

⁴ Herodotus, iv. 118.

⁵ Herodotus, iv. 118. "From this the account of Darius given by the Greeks in the *Imagines* agrees. It is given with accuracy, and the place better

known. And so it is also the position given Darius, iv. 119. Herodotus, *Imagines*, *System of Herodotus*, p. 145, about the Tauri.

The wooden wall, however they were, which were supposed to mark the extreme point of the march of Darius.

Having thus been started all across Scythia and the other territories above-mentioned in a north-westerly direction, Darius and his army are now marched back a prodigious distance in a north-easterly direction, through the territories of the Melanchlori, the Anabrophi, and the Nenei, all of whom flee terrified into the northern desert, having been thus surprised against their will to share in the consequences of the war. The Agathyrsi peremptorily require the Scythians to abstain from driving the Persians into their territory on pain of being themselves treated as enemies.¹ Accordingly the Scythians, avoiding the boundaries of the Agathyrsi, direct their retreat in such a manner as to draw the Persians again southward into Scythia. During all this long march backwards and forwards, there are partial skirmishes and combats of horse, but the Scythians steadily refuse any general engagement. And though Darius challenges them formally by means of a herald, with threats of vengeance, the Scythian king Mandrobarus not only refuses battle, but explains and defends his policy, and defies the Persians to come and destroy the tombs of their fathers—it will then (he adds) be seen whether the Scythians are cowards or not.² The difficulties of Darius have by this time become serious, when Mandrobarus sends to him the menacing presents of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and two asses: the Persians are obliged to commence a rapid retreat towards the Danube, leaving, in order to check and slacken the Scythian pursuit, the least effective and the sick part of their army encamped, together with the asses which had been brought with them—animals unknown to the Scythians, and causing great alarm by their braying.³ However, notwithstanding some delay thus caused, as well as the anxious haste of Darius to reach the Danube, the Scythians, far more rapid in their movements, arrive at the river before him,

retreat
approach
of the
Scythians
and I have
found them
by these
means.

may be compared to those witnesses of the military intrusion of Darius, which the Mandrobari army gave on the north of the Danube.—"Robert prince barbareux," *Journal Curieux*, Vol. 2, pp. 110, 11, 12, 13, 14.

¹ *Herodotus*, vi. 120. Mandrobarus makes the Melanchlori as a Scythian tribe (*Herodotus*, *loc. cit.* ed. Hildner); he also mentions several other sub-

divisions of Scythians, who cannot be distinguished from the Persians (ibid. vi. 120).

² *Herodotus*, vi. 121, 122.

³ *Herodotus*, vi. 123, 124. The bird, the mouse, the frog, and the asses are supposed to alarm; "Others run like the wind like a bird, so the wind like a mouse, or so the water like a frog, yet will become the master of the Scythian army."

circumstances to be defeated if brought to action, might perhaps not suffer themselves to be approached or even discovered. As a precaution against all contingencies, it was prudent to leave the bridge standing and watched by those who had constructed it. Far from being offended at the advice, Darius felt grateful for it, and decreed that Kôla would ask him after his return for a suitable reward—which we shall hereafter find granted. He then showed his resolution, took a cord, and tied every knot in it. "Take this cord (said he to the Ionians): untie one of the knots in it each day after my advance from the Danube into Scythia. Remains here and guard the bridge until you shall have untied all the knots; but if by that time I shall not have returned, then depart and sail home."¹ With such orders he began his march into the interior. This anecdote is interesting, not only as it discloses the simple expedients for conversation and counting of time then practiced, but also as it illustrates the geographical ideas prevalent. Darius did not intend to come back over the Danube, but to march round the Mouth, and to return into Persia on the eastern side of the Euxine. No other explanation can be given of his orders. At first, confident of success, he orders the bridge to be destroyed forthwith: he will beat the Scythians, march through their country, and re-enter Media from the eastern side of the Euxine: when he is reminded that possibly he may not be able to find the Scythians, and may be obliged to retreat, he still continues persuaded that this must happen within sixty days, if it happens at all; and that should he remain absent more than sixty days, such delay will be a convincing proof that he will take the other road of return instead of regaining the Danube. The reader who looks at a map of the Euxine and its surrounding territories may be startled at so extravagant a conception; but he should recollect that there was no map of the same or nearly the same country before Herodotus, much less before the contemporaries of Darius. The idea of entering Media by the north from Scythia and Bactria, over the Caucasus, is familiar to Herodotus in his sketch of the early marches of the Scythians and Cimmerians:

¹ Herod. II. 10. In II. 10, in giving of Darius' advice, when he orders, first to destroy the bridge, that Herodotus speaks of the bridge, and afterwards, in the next chapter, discloses the expedient of the cord.

assured by means of French support alone—the feeling of the population being everywhere against them: consequently, the ruin of Surcouf would be their ruin also. This argument proved conclusive. It was resolved to stay and maintain the bridge, but to proceed amicably with the Noythians, and prevail upon them to depart, by offering to destroy it. The northern portion of the bridge was accordingly destroyed, for the length of a bow-shot; while the Noythians departed, under the persuasion that they had succeeded in depriving their enemies of the means of crossing the river.¹ It appears that they seized the task of the retreating host, which was then enabled, after the severest pursuit and exerting, to reach the Escalote in safety. Arriving during the darkness of the night, Surcouf was at first terrified to find the bridge no longer joining the northern bank. An Egyptian head, of monstrous powers of voice, was ordered to call as loudly as possible the name of Hiram the Milician. Answer being speedily made, the bridge was re-established, and the French army passed over before the Noythians returned to the spot.²

There can be no doubt that the Louians have taken opportunity amply favourable, such as never again returned, for emancipating themselves from the French domination. Their despots, by whom the decomposition was made, especially the Milician Hiram, were not induced to preserve the bridge by any honourable intention to betray the trust reposed in them, but simply by selfish regard to the maintenance of their own usurped domination. And we may remark that the real character of this impelling motive, as well as the delusion accompanying it, may be ascertained as resting upon very good evidence, since we are now arrived within the personal knowledge of the Milician historian Hiram, who took an active part in the same epoch a few years afterwards, and who may perhaps have been personally engaged in the expedition. He will be found reviewing with pride and solicitude the chances of that unfortunate revolt, and distrusting its success from the beginning; while Hiram of Milieu will

¹ *Revue*, ix. 127-128.

² *Revue*, ix. 140-141.

appear on the same service as the lieutenant of it, in order to procure his release from an honorable detention at Susa near the person of Darius. The nobles of this empire, having approved his countryman of that val and favorable chance of emancipation which the destruction of the bridge would have opened to them, threw them into such a few years afterwards against the entire and unshaken form of the Persian king and empire.

Expatriated from the perils of the Scythian warfare, Darius marched northward from the Danube through Thrace to the Hellespont, where he crossed from Europe into Asia. He left however a considerable army in Europe, under the command of Megabates, to accomplish the conquest of Thrace. Pericles on the Progress made a brave resistance;¹ but was at length subdued; after which all the Thracian tribes, and all the Grecian colonies between the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, were forced to submit, giving earth and water, and becoming subject to tribute.² Near the lower Bosphorus was the Eubœan town of Mykonus, which Darius ordered to be made over to Histæus of Miletus; for both the Milesians, and Kiles of Miletus, had been deared by the Persian king to name themselves reward for their fidelity to him on the passage over the Danube.³ Kiles requested that he might be constituted depot of Mytilene, which was accomplished by Persian authority; but Histæus solicited that the territory near Mykonus might be given to him for the foundation of a colony. As soon as the Persian conquests extended thus far, the site in question was presented to Histæus, who entered actively upon his new scheme. We shall find the territory near Mykonus eminent hereafter as the site of Amphipolis; it offered great temptation to settlers, as fertile, well-watered, convenient for maritime commerce, and near to mountains.

It seems however that the Persian dominion in Thrace was disturbed by an invasion of the Skythians, who, in revenge for the aggression of Darius, ravaged the country as far as the Thracian Chersonese, and are even said to have sent troops to Myrta, proposing a simultaneous invasion of Persia, from different

¹ Thucyd. iv. 103, 104, v. 1, 2.
² Herodot. v. 2.

³ Herodot. v. 12.
⁴ Herodot. v. 22.

The conquests of Mepherias did not stop at the western bank of the Strymon. He crossed his arms across that river, conquering the Paeonians, and reducing the Macedonians under Amyntas to tribute. A considerable number of the Paeonians were transported across to Asia, by express order of Darius, whom they had been struck by seeing at Sardis a beautiful Paeonian woman carrying a vessel on her head, leading a horse to water, and spinning flax, all at the same time. These women had been brought over (we are told) by her two brothers Eugei and Morys for the express purpose of attracting the attention of the Great King. They hoped by this means to be constituted Jorgots of their countrymen; and we may presume that their scheme succeeded, for such part of the Paeonians as Mepherias could subdue were conveyed across to Asia and planted in some villages in Phrygia. Such violent transportations of inhabitants were in the genius of the Persian government.¹

Slaves, women and Paeonians captured by Mepherias.

From the Paeonian lake Prespa, seven thousand Persians were sent as slaves into Macedonia, to whom Amyntas readily gave the required token of submission, having them to a splendid banquet. When satiated with wine, they demanded to see the women of the royal family, who, being accordingly introduced, were rudely dealt with by the strangers; at length the son of

Slaves, women and women of the Persian army in Macedonia.

given arbitrarily while the Persians were occupied by the local revolt (Herodotus, *loc. cit.*). There is nothing in the recorded facts inconsistent with the belief, therefore, that Amyntas allowed his son to see and have control in the Chamber of all, or at least not the very king himself, and the statement of Curtius is likely, that he quitted his country after the revolt from Darius, from fear of the Persians, and he accordingly fled. In the next chapter (v. 207) it is told that a Persian girl who the Scythians brought the Chersonese, Alcibiades was accused of having discovered to Philip their designs upon the city. Alcibiades, however, denied, though he had been so sworn. While the Persians were busy in the Chersonese, the son of Amyntas was in the Chersonese. The son of Amyntas was in the Chersonese, the son of Amyntas was in the Chersonese.

Philip fled from the Chersonese to avoid the boy's love, whom he really left there while the Persians were busy.

The story of Darius (v. 207) p. 207, that Amyntas was the first king of the Macedonians of the Chersonese to be sent there, in order to bring them from selling slaves to transport to the Persians the boy, and so on. Philip, however, was sent to the Persians to see their ordinary conditions. Amyntas, being there, at the time of the local revolt, was sent to the Persians (v. 207).

Herodotus, v. 207-215. Mepherias (Mepherias) (p. 207, ed. Dindorf) tells a story about the means by which a Macedonian woman attracted the notice of the Lyones king Alcibiades. This is a story of a Macedonian woman, in reference to different people and times, but they probably is almost history.

Ammon, Alexander, revealed the result, and started for it a equal vengeance. Denuding the women under pretence that they should return after a bath, he brought back in their place youths in female attire, armed with daggers. Presently the Persians, proceeding to repeat their customs, were all put to death. Their retreat, and the splendid carriage and equipment which they had brought, disappeared at the same time, without any tidings reaching the Persian army. And when Belshazzar, another eminent Persian, was sent into Macedonia to facilitate negotiations, Alexander contrived to haul up the proceeding by large bribes, and by giving him his sister Clitus in marriage.¹

Meanwhile Megasthenes crossed over into Asia, carrying with him the Persians from the Sarynada. Having become alarmed at the progress of Histæus with his new city of Mythraea, he communicated his apprehensions to Darius; who was prevailed upon to send for Histæus, retaining him about his person, and carrying him to Sam as counsellor and board, with every mark of honour, but with the secret intention of never letting him revisit Asia Minor. The fears of the Persians general were probably not unreasonable; but this detention of Histæus at Sam became in the sequel an important event.²

On departing for his capital, Darius nominated his brother Artabazanes squire of Bardis, and Orontes general of the forces on the coast in place of Megasthenes. The new general dealt very severely with various towns near the Propontis, on the ground that they had evaded their duty in the late Mythraean expedition, and had even harboured the army of Darius in its retreat. He took Erythraea and Chalkidice, as well as Antandrea in the Thracian, and Lampsaena. With the aid of a fleet from Lesbos, he achieved a new conquest—the islands of Limnos and Imbros, at that time occupied by a Pelægic population, seemingly without any Greek inhabitants at all. These Pelægi were of cruel and pious character, if we may judge by the writer of the legends respecting them; Lemnosian madness being cited as a proverbial expression for madness.³ They were

¹ Herodotus, v. 35, 36.
² Herodotus, v. 35, 36.

³ Herodotus, vi. 138. Strabo, Geograph. lib. 10, c. 4, § 1.

distinguished also for ancient worship of Hyphæstus, together with mystic rites in honour of the Kabiræ, and even human sacrifices to their Great Goddess. In their two cities—Hyphæstus on the east of the island and Myrina on the west—they held out bravely against Orestes, and did not submit until they had undergone long and severe hardships. Lysimachus, brother of that Macedonian whom we have already noticed as despot of Samos, was named governor of Ilium; but he soon after died.¹ It is probable that the Pelagic population of the island was greatly exterminated during this struggle, and we even hear that their king Harmaus voluntarily emigrated from fear of Darius.²

Ilium and Lesbos then became Persian possessions, held by a subordinate prince as tributary. A few years afterwards their lot was again changed—they passed into the hands of Athens, the Pelagic islands were expelled, and fresh Athenian settlers introduced. They were conquered by Miltiades from the Thracian Chersonese; from Rhene at the mouth of that peninsula to Lesbos being within one day's sail with a north wind. The Hyphæstians abandoned their city and evacuated the island with little resistance; but the inhabitants of Myrina stood a siege,³ and were not expelled without difficulty; both of them found shelter in Tenedos, on and near the peninsula of Mount Athos. Both these islands, together with that of Cyprus (which was not taken until after the invasion of Xerxes), remained connected with Athens in a manner peculiarly intimate. At the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.)—which guaranteed universal autonomy to every Grecian city, great and small—they were specially reserved, and

Lesbos and Ilium captured by the Athenians and Miltiades.

¹ The mention of the Kabiræ in honour of the Kabiræ at Ilium and Lesbos are given also by Strabo (lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf). Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf. Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf. Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf.

² The Pelagic islands, Lesbos, Ilium, in the north-western portion of the island, was still bearing in the fourth century B.C. (Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf). Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf.

³ Miltiades' Expedition (the Athenian) to Ilium, p. 497. ed. Dindorf. Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf.

Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf.

¹ Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf. Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf. Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf. Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf.

² Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf.

³ Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf. Strabo, lib. x. c. 1. p. 497. ed. Dindorf.

considered as united with Athens.¹ The property in their soil was held by men who, without losing their Athenian citizenship, became Lemnian Klerouchoi, and as such were classed apart among the military force of the state; while absent in Lemnos or Imbros seems to have been accepted as an excuse for delay before the courts of justice, so as to escape the penalties of contumacy or departure from the country.² It is probable that a considerable number of poor Athenian citizens were provided with lots of land in these islands, though we have no direct information of the fact, and are even obliged to guess the precise time at which Miltiades made the conquest. Herodotus, according to his usual manner, connects the conquest with an ancient myth, and represents it as the retribution for ancient legendary wrong committed by certain Pelopg, who, many centuries before, had been expelled by the Athenians from Attica, and had retired to Lemnos. Full of this legend, he tells us nothing about the pretensions, reasons or circumstances of the conquest, which must probably have been accomplished by the efforts of Athens, jointly with Miltiades from the Chersonese, during the period that the Persians were occupied in quelling the Ionic revolt, between 500-494 a.c.—namely it is hardly to be supposed that Miltiades would have ventured then to attack a Persian possession during the time that the empire had their hands free. The expedition was probably facilitated by the fact, that the Pelopg population of the islands had been weakened, as well by their former resistance to the Persian attacks, as by many years passed under the dominion of a Persian satrap.

In mentioning the conquest of Mexico by the Americans and

¹ Zingales, Merton, & L. B. "Comparative Firms," *Financial Review*, p. 101, where the world's largest banks, insurance companies, and other financial institutions are listed.

Vilgand, No. 22, v. 2, col. 27; *Festschrift zu A.-Lindner*, v. 2, p. 282; *Svenskornas Vilgand*, v. 2, p. 27; M.: compare the inscription No. 106 in the collection of Bredius, with the remains in 193.

Among the drawings recorded by Nelson Van Alden, Secretary to George Selous in colonial Africa in London, or Africa, see Nelson, G. M., p. 46 (p. 48 fig. 1). Nelson, G. M., p. 46 (p. 48 fig. 1). Nelson, G. M., p. 46 (p. 48 fig. 1).

Keywords: aging; communication; Carl Rogers; Carl Lewinsohn; self-concept; self-esteem

[illegible]

From the passage of these above-mentioned laws, which clearly seem to me to indicate otherwise, it appears that there was a real conversion between African nations and European ones.

Miltiades, I have anticipated a little on the course of events, because that conquest—though coinciding in point of time with the Ionic revolt (which will be recounted in the following chapter), and indirectly caused by it in so far as it occupied the attention of the Persians—lies entirely apart from the operations of the revolted Ionians. When Miltiades was driven out of the Chersonese by the Persians, on the suppression of the Ionic revolt, his share, derived from having subdued *Limnos*,¹ contributed both to neutralise the enmity which he had incurred as governor of the Chersonese, and to procure his election as one of the ten generals for the year of the *Marathonian* conflict.

¹ *Harriot. vi. 121.*

CHAPTER XXXV.

IONIC REVOLT.

HERODOTUS the history of the Asiatic Greeks has saved to a stream distinct from that of the European Greeks. The present chapter will mark the period of confluence between the two.

At the time when Darius quitted Sardis on his return to Susa, carrying with him the Milesian Histiaios, he left Antagoras his brother as satrap of Sardis, invested with the supreme command of Western Asia Minor. The Grecian cities on the coast, comprehended under his satrapy, appear to have been chiefly governed by native despots in each; and Miletus especially, in the absence of Histiaios, was ruled by his son-in-law Antagoras. That city was now in the height of power and prosperity—in every respect the leading city of Ionia. The return of Darius to Susa may be placed seemingly about 522 B.C., from which time forward the state of things above described continued, without disturbance, for eight or ten years—"a respite from suffering," to use the significant phrase of the historian.¹

¹ Herodotus, 4. 12. "Next it of sudden ceased. Great evils befell it during winter—of this nature none of more extent he relates. His citizens, with Lampis and others few were killed. Agesilaus, a Mædæ, coming that summer to the coast, were to be passed over and so, so that the Milesians could be made to believe that the period of peace lasted only a short time. It appears to me that the winter might rather be placed after summer, and that the word 'winter' refers to those evils which the Milesians had been suffering before. There must have been an interval of eight years at least, if not of ten years, between the events which

the historian had been describing. The evils indicated by the words of Herodotus and the breaking out of the Ionia revolt; which latter event, as we shall see, took place B.C. 514, though some prefer 513 B.C., seems even for B.C.

It seems we are misled with Herodotus (4. 12, 13) and Strabo (10. 1) upon Miletus becoming the main spring, see p. 24 of my 'Miletus' (1844) and the Miletian expedition (p. 10) to be placed in 514-513 B.C., then taking the interval between the conquest of Croesus and the Ionia revolt would be completed with one or two years. But I have already observed that I cannot think

It was about the year 506 a.c. that the exiled Athenian, Hippias, after having been expelled from Sparta by the unanimous refusal of the Lacedæmonians either to take part in his cause, presented himself from Siphnos as a petitioner to Artaphernes at Sardis. He now disclosed to the benefit of the alliance which he had formed for his daughter with the despotic Hecastæus of Lampsacus, whose forces with Darius would stand him in good stead. He made pressing representations to the satrap, with a view of procuring restoration to Athens, on condition of holding it under Persian domination; and Artaphernes was prepared, if an opportunity offered, to aid him in this design. So thoroughly had he resolved on expelling entirely the cause of Hippias, that when the Athenians despatched envoys to Sardis, to set forth the case of the city against its exiled pretender, he returned to them an answer not merely of denial, but of menace—bidding them receive Hippias back again, if they looked for safety. Such a reply was equivalent to a declaration of war, and so it was construed at Athens. It leads us to infer that the satrap was even then revolving in his mind an expedition against Attica, in conjunction with Hippias; but fortunately for the Athenians, other projects and necessities intervened to postpone for several years the execution of the scheme.

[illegible]

Of these new projects, the first was that of conquering the island of Naxos. Here too, as in the case of Euboea, the instigation arose from Sicilian enmities—a rich oligarchy which had been expelled by a rising of the people. This island, like all the rest of the Cyclades, was as yet independent of the Persians.¹ It was wealthy, prosperous, possessing a large population both of freemen and slaves, and defended as well by armed ships as by a force of 8000 heavy-armed infantry. The sailors worked for aid to Aristagoras, who saw that he

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**Office of the
Deputy
Attorney
General
and
Chief
Counsel**

BOB A.C. is a corrupt dealer for the Brazilian government. He seems to me to belong to the type of a C. How do I know what reason gives it for understanding the value of "wearing down" except the very plain-to-the-sensible pattern, which is an easy-to-understand, relatively simple, and which he appears to be

made by being composed of the four hard types.
I thought it was OK. To the disadvantage

indicated that a. *Paraphoxys* also does, according to the following reasons:

† *Harporhynchus* n. sp. *Platyodon* signatus
Lorenson, established as a group of
Platid in *Platyodon* (Lorenson, 1994,
was excluded from this genus by the

could turn them into instruments of domination for himself in the island, provided he could induce Aristophanes to embark in the project along with him—his own force not being adequate by itself. Accordingly he went to Eorion, and laid his project before the eunuch, intimating that as even as the eunuch should lend with a powerful support, Xanx would be released with little trouble: that the neighbouring islands of Taroa, Andros, Thos, and the other Cyclades could not long hold out after the conquest of Naxos, nor even the large and valuable island of Euboea. He himself engaged, if a fleet of 100 ships were granted to him, to accomplish all these conquests for the Great King, and to bear the expenses of the armament besides. Aristophanes entertained the proposition with eagerness, looked him with praise, and promised him in the ensuing spring 500 ships instead of 100. Messengers despatched to Sam having brought back the ready consent of Darius, a large armament was forthwith equipped under the command of the Persian Megabates, to be placed at the disposal of Aristophanes—composed, both of Persians and of all the tributaries near the coast.¹

With this force Aristophanes and the Persian eunuch set sail from Miletus, giving out that they were going to the Hellespont: on reaching Chios, they waited in its western harbour of Mankas for a fair wind to carry them straight across to Naxos. No suspicion was entertained in that island of its real purpose, nor was any preparation made for resistance; so that the success of Aristophanes would have been complete, had it not been defeated by an unforeseen incident ending in dispute. Megabates, with a solicitude which we are surprised to discern in a Persian general, personally made the tour of his fleet, to see that every ship was under proper watch. He discovered a ship from Myræus (an Asiatic Dorian city near Halicarnassus) left without a single man on board. Inquired at such neglect, he called before him Skyllax, the commander of the ship, and ordered him to be put in chains, with his head projecting

¹ Lucian mentions the Hellespont, Miletus, and, A. B. p. 1091. I suppose that I do not place much confidence in the statement of that writer as to the many dangers attended by eunuchs: we

rather have the account from whence Plutarch borrowed them, nor any of the circumstances connected with them.

² Lucian, A. B. B.

outwards through one of the apertures for oars in the ship's side. Skylax was a guest and friend of Aristagoras, who, on hearing of this punishment, interceded with Megabates for his release; but finding the request refused, took upon him to release the prisoner himself. He even went so far as to trust the reassurances of Megabates with distrust, reminding him that, according to the instructions of Artaphernes, he was only second—himself (Aristagoras) being first. The pride of Megabates could not endure such treatment: as soon as night arrived, he sent a private intimation to Hecataeus of the coming of the fleet, warning the islanders to be on their guard. The warning thus factually received was turned by the Naxians to the best account. They carried in their property, laid up stores, and made every preparation for a siege, so that when the fleet, probably delayed by the dispute between its leaders, at length arrived, it was met by a stout resistance, remained on the island for four months in prosecution of an unavailing siege, and was obliged to retire without accomplishing anything beyond the erection of a fort, as judgment for the Naxians called. After a large cost incurred, not only by the Persians, but also by Aristagoras himself, the unsuccessful armament was brought back to the coast of Ionia.¹

The failure of this expedition threatened Aristagoras with entire ruin. He had incurred Megabates' distrust, Artaphernes' enmity, and incurred an obligation, which he knew not how to discharge, of indemnifying the latter for the costs of the fleet. He began to revolve in his mind the scheme of revelling from Persia, and it so happened that there arrived nearly at the same moment a messenger from his father-in-law Histiaeus, who was detained at the court of Susa, secretly instigating him to this very resolution. Not knowing whom to trust with this dangerous message, Histiaeus had caused the head of a faithful slave to be shaved—braided upon it the words necessary—and then despatched him, as soon as his hair had grown, to Miletus, with a verbal intimation to Aristagoras that his head was to be again shaved and examined.² Histiaeus

by letters, through Artaphernes, to Megabates, and Artaphernes sent him warning of the Persian general Megabates.

A form of Aristagoras—the description which is given of him in the text of the Persians—instigation by his slave about the head of Histiaeus.

¹ Herodotus, v. 36, 35.

² Herodotus, v. 35. compare Plutarch, l. 34, and other Classics, N. A. vol. 2.

sought to provide this position rather, simply as a means of procuring his own release from Rome, and in the calculation that Curian would need him down to the coast to re-establish order. His message, arriving at an critical moment, determined the following resolution of Aristagoras, who converted his principal partisans at Miletus, and had before them the formidable project of revolt. All of them approved it, with one remarkable exception—the historian Hekataeus of Miletus: who opposed it as altogether useless, and contended that the power of Persia was too vast to leave them any prospect of success. When he found direct opposition fruitless, he next insisted upon the necessity of at once seizing the large treasure in the neighbouring temple of Apollo at Didyma for the purpose of carrying on the revolt. By this means alone (he said) could the Milesians, too feeble to carry on the contest with their own force alone, hope to become masters at sea—while, if they did not take these treasures, the victorious enemy assuredly would. Neither of these recommendations, both of them inferring equality and foresight in the progress, was listened to. Probably the seizure of the treasure—though highly useful for the impending struggle, and though in the end they fell into the hands of the enemy, as Hekataeus anticipated—would have been inappreciable to the poor feelings of the people, and would thus have proved more injurious than beneficial: perhaps indeed Hekataeus himself may have urged it with the indirect view of stifling the whole project. We may remark that he seems to have argued the question as if Miletus were to stand alone in the revolt; not anticipating, as indeed no prudent man could then anticipate, that the Ionic cities generally would follow the example.

Aristagoras and his friends resolved forthwith to revolt. Their first step was to consolidate popular feeling throughout Asiatic Greece by putting down the despot in all the various cities—the instruments not less than the supports of Persian ascendancy, as Histæus had well argued at the bridge of the Danube. The opportunity was favourable for striking this blow at once on a considerable scale. For the first, recently employed

Revolt of
Aristagoras
and the
Milesians—
the despot
in the
temple
seized
upon
and seized.

at Xanthos, had not yet dispersed, but was still assembled at Myra, with many of the despots present at the head of their ships. Accordingly Antagoras was despatched from Miletus, at once to win as many of them as he could, and to stir up the soldiers to revolt. The decisive proceeding was the first manifesto against Darius. Antagoras was successful: the fleet went along with him, and many of the despots fell into his hands—among them Hiclaus (a second person so named) of Tormera, Clinus of Mylasa (both Euriens),¹ Eids of Mytilene, and Antagoras (also a second person so named) of Kyros. At the same time the Milesian Antagoras himself, while he formally proclaimed revolt against Darius, and invited the Milesians to follow him, hid down his own authority, and affected to place the government in the hands of the people. Throughout most of the coast of Asiatic Greece, similar and incidental, a similar revolution was brought about; the despots were expelled, and the feelings of the citizens were thus warmly interested in the revolt. Such of these despots as fell into the hands of Antagoras were surrendered into the hands of their former subjects, by whom they were for the most part quietly dismissed, and we shall find them hereafter active auxiliaries to the Persians. To this treatment the only exception mentioned is Eids, who was stoned to death by the Mytileneans.²

By these first successful steps the Ionic revolt was made to assume an extensive and formidable character; much more so, probably, than the prudent Helians had anticipated as practicable. The naval force of the Persians in the *Ægean* was at once taken away from them, and passed to their opponents, who were thus completely masters of the sea; and would in fact have remained so, if a second naval force had not been brought up against them from Phœnicia—a proceeding never before resorted to, and perhaps at that time not looked for.

Having achieved all the results seems to name their generals and to put themselves in a state of defence, Antagoras crossed the *Ægean* to obtain assistance from Sparta, then under the

Extinction
of the
small
kingdoms
of the
Ægean
by the
Persians
and
the
Greeks.
Antagoras
sent to
Sparta
and
Athens.

¹ *Geograph. Periplus*, v. 127, and vi. 10. Clinus was son of Phanias, as was also the Mytilenean Euriens mentioned in v. 121.

² *Strabo*, v. 14, vi. 1, 6.

government of King Kleomenes; to whom he addressed himself, "holding in his hand a brazen tablet, wherein was depicted the circuit of the entire earth, with the whole sea and all the rivers". Probably this was the first map or plan which had ever been seen at Sparta, and so profound was the impression which it made, that it was remembered there even in the time of Herodotus.¹ Having emphatically exhorted the Spartans to step forth in aid of their brave brethren, now engaged in a desperate struggle for freedom, he proceeded to describe the wealth and abundance (gold, silver, horses, vestments, cattle, and slaves), together with the ineffective weapons and warriors, of the Asiatics. Such enemies as the latter (he said) could beat once put down, and their wealth appropriated, by military trophies such as that of the Spartans—whose long spear, brazen helmet and breast-plate, and simple shield, enabled them to despise the bow, the short javelin, the light wicker target, the turban and trousers, of a Persian.² He then traced out on his brazen plan the road from Ephesus to Sam, indicating the intervening nations, all of them affording a booty more or less rich. He concluded by magnifying especially the vast treasures at Sam—"Instead of fighting your neighbours (he concluded), Argives, Arcadians, and Messenians, from whom you get hard blows and small reward, why do you not make yourself ruler of all Asia,³ a prize not less easy than lucrative?" Kleomenes replied to these seductive invitations by charging him to come for an answer on the third day. When

¹ Herodot. i. 66. 54-55 (Kleomenes) is spoken of, not as a Spartan, but as a Persian, from Persian sources, as all our ancient Asiatic historians, and followed in later times, suppose.

The earliest coin of which mention is made was prepared by Agatharchos the Lycian, apparently not long before the period of Herodotus (i. p. 7). Agatharchos, i. p. 1. Droysen, *Antiqu. d. A.* i.

Overlooking, he has gone on the above passage of Herodotus, as well as Lucian, and other writers, suppose he took them literally, that he had in view of Samos. In reality, was the earliest which exhibited the whole known world, there were among the Greeks coins and medals, which described particular countries. There is no proof of this, but still I think it probable the passage of Agatharchos Kleomenes (in

574) with the Scythia, to B., which is not an evidence, appears to me too worthy of attention.

Among the Roman Agatharchos, it was the ancient practice to signify their place, of land surveyed, upon natural tokens, which were deposited in the public archives, one of which coins were made for private use, though the principal was referred to in case of local dispute (Plinius, *Strabo* ap. the Asiatic historians, p. 26, 27. *Strabo*: *Geograph. d. A.* i. 12, 13. *Strabo* ap. the *Geograph. d. A.* i. 12, 13. *Strabo*).

² Herodot. i. 66. According to Herodotus, it was not the Scythians, but the Persians, who were the enemies of the Spartans.

³ Herodot. i. 66. *Geograph. d. A.* i. 12. *Geograph. d. A.* i. 12. *Geograph. d. A.* i. 12. *Geograph. d. A.* i. 12.

that day arrived, he put to him the simple question, how far it was from Samos to the sea? To which Aristagoras answered with more frankness than discretion, that it was a three months' journey; and he was proceeding to enlarge upon the facilities of the road when Kleomenes interrupted him—"Quit Samos before sunset, Miletian stranger; you are no friend to the Lacedæmonians, if you want to carry them a three months' journey from the sea." In spite of this peremptory mandate, Aristagoras tried a last resource. Taking in his hand the bow of supplication, he again went to the house of Kleomenes, who was sitting with his daughter Gorgo, a girl of eight years old. He requested Kleomenes to send away the child, but this was refused, and he was desired to proceed; upon which he began to offer to the Spartan king a bribe for compliance, bidding continually higher and higher from ten talents up to fifty. At length the little girl suddenly exclaimed, "Father, the stranger will corrupt you, if you do not at once go away." The exclamation so struck Kleomenes, that he broke up the interview, and Aristagoras forthwith quitted Samos.¹

Refusal
of the
Spartan king to
assist him.

Decline Herodotus heard the account of this interview from Lacedæmonian informants. Yet we may be permitted to doubt whether any such suggestions were really made, or any such hopes held out, as those which he places in the mouth of Aristagoras—suggestions and hopes which might well be conceived in 480—478 B.C., after a generation of vicissitudes over the Persians, but which have no pertinence in the year 548 B.C. Down even to the battle of Marathon, the name of the Miles was a terror to the Greeks, and the Athenians are highly and justly extolled as the first who dared to look them in the face.² To talk about an easy march up to the treasures of Samos and the empire of all Asia, at the time of the Ionian revolt, would have been considered as a proof of insanity. Aristagoras may very probably have represented that the Spartans were more than a match for

¹ Herodotus, v. 48, 49, 50. Compare Plutarch, Aristagoras, *loc. cit.* p. 100.

The story continues, both in word and sense, and illustrates all the life and force of Kleomenes, that the Spartan king had the entire management and direction of foreign affairs assigned. However, he found such persistence by the Spartans in case of non-compliance

(Herodotus, iv. 205). We shall hereafter find the Spartans gradually taking from their arms less to more and more, the second suggestion.

² Herodotus, vi. 114, notes 34 and 35, appears entitled to highly honouring, and even before making difficulties, when he is asked, "Should not the Spartans be the first to fight?"

Pericles in the 443; but even this much would have been expected, in 405 not, rather as the strongest hope of a prisoner than as the estimate of a sober looker-on.

The Mission chief had made application to Sparta, as the providing power of Hellas—a character which we then find more and more revealed until passing into the habitual belief of the Greeks. Fifty years previously to this, the Spartans had been flattered by the dream-stories that Croesus sought them out from all other Greeks to invite to alliance: now, they accepted such priority as a matter of course.¹

Dejected at Sparta, Aristagoras proceeded to Athens, now decidedly the second power in Greece. Here he found an enterpriser, not only as it was the metropolis (or mother-city) of Æolic Ionia, but also as it had already incurred the personal hostility of the Persians through, and might look to be attacked as soon as the project came to suit his convenience, under the instigation of Hippas: whereas the Spartans had not only no kindred with Ionia, beyond that of common Hellenism, but were in no hostile relations with Persia, and would have been providing a new strategy by meddling in the Ææolic war. The promises and representations of Aristagoras were accordingly received with great favour by the Athenians; who, ever and above the claims of sympathy, had a powerful interest in sustaining the Ionic revolt as an indirect protection to themselves—and to whom the distraction of the Ionia fleet from the Persians afforded a conspicuous and important relief. The Athenians at once resolved to send a fleet of twenty ships, under Xanthippus, as an aid to the revolted Ionians—ships which are designated by Herodotus, "the beginning of the machinate between Greeks and barbarians"—in the ships in which Persia crossed the Ægean had before been called in the trial of Homer. Herodotus further remarks that

¹ Aristagoras says to the Spartans (p. 443), "we ourselves have freedom; hence we will become free for Ionia too, besides our being neighbours and allies to you; and we are the more desirous to assist you, because Herodotus (p. 443), in reference to the matter in dispute (Herodotus, l. vi.), promises to befriend of Ionia, and the Spartans."

Herodotus, ed. 443, in reference to the matter (p. 443), "we ourselves have freedom; hence we will become free for Ionia too."

As Herodotus states more than forty years previous to the two events, dated respectively the feelings of the Spartans, and the feelings of others towards them, had undergone a material change.

that a match for Cleonæus, who found himself otherwise obliged to evacuate Sardis owing to an accidental conflagration. Most of the houses in that city were built in great part with mud or straw, and all of them had thatched roofs. Hence it happened that a spark touching one of them set the whole city in flames. Obligated to abandon their dwellings by the fire, the population of the town congregated in the market-place, and as reinforcements were hourly arriving in, the position of the Ionians and Athenians became precarious. They evacuated the town, took up a position on Mount Taphus, and when night came, made the best of their way to the sea-coast. The troops of Artabazus pursued, overtook them near Ephesus, and defeated them completely. Baskinle the Persian general, a man of unimpaired and a celebrated victor at the solemn games, pursued to the action, together with a considerable number of the Athenian troops. After this unsuccessful commencement, the Athenians betook themselves to their vessels and sailed hence, in spite of pressing instances on the part of Artabazus to induce them to stay. They took no further part in the struggle;¹ a retirement at once so sudden and so complete, that they must probably have experienced some glaring derision on the part of their Asiatic allies, similar to that which brought so much danger upon the Spartans general Doryclides, in 395 B.C. Unless such was the case, they seem open to censure rather for having too soon withdrawn their aid, than for having originally lent it.²

The burning of a place so important as Sardis, however, including the temples of the local goddess Kybiké, which perished with the remaining buildings, produced a powerful effect on both sides—encouraging the revolution, as well as increasing the Persian. Artabazus despatched ships along the coast, northward as far as Byzantium, and southward as far as Cyprus. The Greek cities near the Hellespont and the Propontis were indeed, either by force or by negotiation, to take part with him; the Karians embraced his cause warmly; even the Kassians who

¹ Herodotus, v. 108, 109. It is a serious fault that Cleonæus of Lampsacus made no mention of this detail of the united Athenian and Persian force.

see Fildes, de Hæretic. Mithras, c. 100.

² About Doryclides, see Xenophon, Hæc. c. 4, 11—13.

had not declared themselves before, joined him as soon as they heard of the capture of Solon; while the Greeks in Cyprus, with the single exception of the town of Amathus, at once renounced the authority of Darius, and prepared for a strenuous contest. Gasteris of Salamis, the most considerable city in the island, finding the population willing, but his brother, the despot Gorgas, reluctant, shut the latter out of the gates, took the command of the united forces of Salamis and the other seceding cities, and laid siege to Amathus. These towns of Cyprus were then, and soon always afterwards to have continued, under the government of despots; who however, unlike the despots in Ionia generally, took part along with their subjects in the revolt against Persia.¹

The rebellion had now assumed a character so serious, that the Persians were compelled to put forth their strongest efforts to subdue it. From the number of different nations composed in their empire, they were enabled to make use of the antipathies of one against the other; and the old adverse feeling of Phœnicians against Greeks was now found extremely serviceable. ^{Phœnicians then called Jews by the Persians.} After a year spent in getting together forces,² the Phœnicians fleet was employed to transport into Cyprus ^{Jews.} the Persian general Artabanus with a Median and Egyptian army;³ while the force under Artabazanes at Sardis was so strengthened as to enable him to act at once against all the coast of Asia Minor, from the Propontis to the Troadian promontory. On the other side, the common danger had for the moment brought the Ionians into a state of union foreign to their usual habit; so that we hear now, for the first and the last time, of a tolerably efficient Persian authority.⁴

Approved of the coming of Artabanus with the Phœnicians fleet, Cassius had his Cyprian supporters solicit the aid of the Ionic fleet, which arrived shortly after the disembarkation of the Persian force in the island. Cassius offered to the Ionians

¹ Herodotus v. 145, 146, 148. Concerning the proceedings in Cyprus against Antagoras Rhodius, whose first success was the capture of Salamis (Herodotus vii. 15, 16, 17, about 482 B.C.), most of the revolt against the island passed the Ionians into the hands of the Persians. There were still at that time independent cities, viz. Soli and Salamis, which as many as the time when Alexander

conquered Tars (Strabo, ii. 15, 16).

² Herodotus v. 148. ³ Herodotus vii. 15. ⁴ Herodotus vii. 15. ⁵ Herodotus vii. 15.

⁶ Herodotus v. 148. ⁷ Herodotus vii. 15. ⁸ Herodotus vii. 15. ⁹ Herodotus vii. 15. ¹⁰ Herodotus vii. 15.

Meanwhile the principal force of Darius having been assembled at Sardis, Darius, Hystaspes, and other generals who had married daughters of the Great King, distributed their efforts against different parts of the western coast. Darius attacked the towns near the Hellespont—Alydus, Pericle, Lampacus, and Parnus—which made little resistance. He was then ordered southward into Kana, while Hystaspes, who with another division had taken Ebus on the Propontis, marched down to the Hellespont and completed the conquest of the Troad as well as of the Æolis Greeks in the region of Ilio. Artabazanes and Orontes attacked the Teos and Æolis towns on the coast—the former taking Chios, and the latter Kos.

There remained Kara, which, with Mallas in its neighborhood, offered a determined resistance to Daurids. Forewarned of his approach, the Karans assembled at a spot called the White Pillars, near the confluence of the rivers Mander and Karun. Pindarus, one of their chiefs, recommended the desperate expedient of fighting with the river at their back, so that all chance of flight might be cut off; but most of the chiefs decided in favor of a contrary policy—to let the Persians pass

Ray Jones, manager of the Nevada Inn, who managed the hotel's vacation program, Nevada, with English coach, getting off his toes and more, reporting him 50-60 days of trouble, and also making money from the Nevada Inn. The sale of this vacation program was covered in *Crusade* as a story, but it was later found that the sale to Texas.

The result of building this little town west of Dragageville on the French coast, through it was a multiphase and varied work. Indeed, until this is a real French village.

Two members gave a short speech each before they adjourned to the regular session of the committee at 10:30 a. m. The speakers were: Messrs. — Parsons, State-Secretary; Johnson, 1st dist.; the speaker of the house, Parsons, Parsons, and Parke. The last speaker delivered the second one.

In response to the above-mentioned place of studies, I may mention that the Foreign Language Department is one of the most highly respected in the university, a fact which has been

letter to render an eloquent judgment, he suggested that, and that he said he was convinced upon this point, so while his was placed in evidence that, as a source of justice to the world. A similar story is told regarding the famous King Arahmasta Mithra, and what is said about him, the same story is also recounted in the Turkish history, as an act of Mithra's II (Van Housen, *Geography and Development*, Boston, 1891, Vol. II, p. 10, *Appendix*, p. 14). Arahmasta Mithra's story is, in fact, great reason for the belief of the fact that as mentioned.

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*Reviewed by JIM. On the topography of this spot, see comments to Marysville, too a good note on Fremont Cove, Douglas and geographer Richard Strong and off Corral, Comstock, p. 104, June 1960.

As China's work continues, the first three efforts have completed and the last three have been started. The country is now in the process of completing the first three efforts.

the river, in hopes of driving them back into it and thus rendering their defeat total. Victory however, after a sharp contest, declared in favour of Dauricus, chiefly in consequence of his superior numbers. Two thousand Persians, and not less than ten thousand Karians, are said to have perished in the battle. The Karian fugitives, remained after the fight in the grove of noble pines, were converted to Zens Stratus near Lakeusda,¹ were deliberating whether they should now submit to the Persians or emigrate for ever, when the appearance of a Milesian reinforcement restored their courage. A second battle was fought, and a second time they were defeated, the loss on this occasion falling chiefly on the Milesians.² The victorious Persians now proceeded to assault the Karion cities, but Herakleides of Mylasa had an ambuscade for them with as much skill and good fortune, that their army was nearly destroyed, and Dauricus with other Persian generals perished. This successful effort, following upon two recent defeats, does honour to the constancy of the Karians, upon whom Greek poets generally throw a mean reputation. It served for the time the Karion towns, which the Persians did not succeed in reducing until after the capture of Miletus.³

On land, the Persians were thus everywhere worsted, though at sea the Ionians still remained masters. But the unwarlike Aristagoras began to despair of success, and to meditate a mean desertion of the conspirators and countrymen whom he had himself betrayed into danger. Assembling his chief advisers, he represented to them the unpromising state of affairs, and the necessity of securing some place of refuge, in case they were expelled from Miletus. He then put the question to them, whether the island of Sardis, or Mytilene in Thracia near the Strymon (which Miletians had begun some time before to settle, as I have mentioned in the

pages which form into the Alexander from the north-west.

¹ About the village of Lakeusda and the grove of Zens Stratus, see Strabo, lib. 14. c. 10. Lakeusda was a village in the territory of, and seven miles distant from, the island town of Mylasa. It was Karion at the time of our battle event, but partially Ionian before the year 500 B.C. About this latter epoch, the three great cities of Mylasa

—constituting, along with the officers of the town, the Mylasians community—were expelled, and the Mylasians, who followed the Ionians in Darius's expedition, lib. 5. c. 10, and in 498, expelled the Greeks, lib. 14. c. 10. In the history between, Strabo is said to have omitted a battle (Pindar, Quæst. Græc. v. 46, p. 242).

² Herodot. v. 124. 78.

³ Herodot. v. 124, 125; v. 10.

preceding chapter), appear to them best adapted to the purpose. Among the persons consulted was Hekataeus the historian, who approved neither the one nor the other scheme, but suggested the erection of a fortified post in the neighbouring island of Leuce; a Mikonian colony, whereas a temporary settlement might be sought, should it prove impossible to hold Mikina, but which permitted an easy return to that city, as soon as opportunity offered.¹ Such an opinion must doubtless have been founded on the assumption, that they would be able to maintain superiority at sea. It is important to note such confident reliance upon this superiority in the mind of a vigorous man, not given to sanguine hopes, like Hekataeus—even under circumstances very unfavourable on land. Emigration to Mykonus, as proposed by Aristogeus, presented no hope of refuge at all: were the Persians, if they regained their authority in Asia Minor, would not fail again to extend it to the Hæcudæ. Nevertheless the consideration ended by adopting this scheme, since probably no luxury could endure the insupportable distance of Sardis as a new home. Aristogeus set out for Mykonus, taking with him all who chose to bear him company. But he perished not long after landing, together with nearly all his company, in the siege of a neighbouring Thracian town.² Though making pretensions to lay down his supreme authority at the commencement of the revolt, he had still contrived to retain it in great measure; and on departing for Mykonus, he devolved it on Pythagoras, a citizen in high esteem. It appears however that the Mikians, glad to get rid of a leader who had brought them nothing but mischief,³ paid little obedience to his successor, and made their government from this period popular in reality as well as in profession. The desertion of Aristogeus, with the crimes whom he carried away, must have seriously damped the spirits of those who remained. Nevertheless it seems that the cause of the Ionic revolt was quite as well conducted without him.

Not long after his departure, another despot—Histæus of Mikina, his father-in-law, and jointly with him the founder of

¹ *Thucyd.* v. 103; *Strabo*, lib. p. 490.

² *Thucyd.* v. 105.

³ *Thucyd.* vi. 2. Cf. *de Mikon.*

Aræus, de Mykonus; and Aristogeus, seditionis confectus, hanc deinde remissionem dedit in eam partem, ubi in eam hanc periculum.

though never released, appears to have been among the favourite families of the Isean Greeks of that day.¹ By such means and assistance he obtained his liberty, and went down to Sardis, promising to return as soon as he should have accomplished them.² But on reaching Sardis he found the satrap Artabarnes better informed than the Great King at Susa. Though Histæus, when questioned as to the cause which had brought on the outbreak, effected nothing but ignorance and astonishment, Artabarnes detected his evasions, and said—"I will tell you how the facts stand, Histæus: it is you that have attacked this shore, and Aristagoras has put it on."³ Such a declaration provided little security to the suspected Milesian who heard it: and accordingly, as soon as night arrived, he took to flight, went down to the coast, and from thence passed over to Chios. Here he found himself seized on the opposite coast, as the confidant of Darius and the enemy of Ionia. He was released, however, on proclaiming himself not merely a fugitive escaping from Persian custody, but also as the prime author of the Isean revolt: and he further added, in order to increase his popularity, that Darius had contemplated the treachery of the Isean population to Phœnæa, as well as that of the Phœnician population to Ionia—to prevent which treachery he (Histæus) had instigated the revolt. This allegation, though nothing better than a pure fabrication, obtained for him the goodwill of the Chians, who carried him back to Miletus: but before he departed, he despatched to Sardis some letters, addressed to distinguished Persians, framed as if he were already in established intrigue with them for revelling against Darius, and intended to move them to actual revolt. His messenger, Haraspigas of Achaena, betrayed him, and carried his letters straight to Artabarnes. The satrap decided that these letters might be delivered to the

Histæus suggested by Artabarnes—how to catch him.

¹ Herodotus, v. 120, et. seq. Concerning the advice of Histæus to Darius to the Iseans, when the Persian conqueror Cyrus was approaching, followed a Isean satrap in Sardis (Herodotus, i. 170); the idea started by Aristagoras has been applied to him above (Herodotus, v. 124).

² Herodotus, iv. 82, 83, tells how the revolt of Histæus, son of Asty-

ages, a recommendation to the Persians, when conquered a second time by the Spartans, he migrated to Sardis.

³ Herodotus, v. 120, 121.

⁴ Herodotus, vi. 1. After this, "Tartarus, first said, rather of surprise, rather of indignation, Histæus, who art thou, Histæus?"

persons to whom they were addressed, but that the answers sent to Histieus might be handed to himself. Such was the terror of the natives, that Artaphernes was induced to retire and yet to death several of the Persians around him: but Histieus was disappointed in his purpose of bringing about a revolt in the place.¹

On arriving at Miletus, Histieus found Artaphernes no longer present, and the citizens altogether adverse to the orders of their old despot: nevertheless he tried to force his way by night into the town, but was repulsed and even wounded in the thigh. He returned to Chios, but the Chians refused him the aid of any of their ships: he next passed to Lesbos, from the islands of which island he obtained eight triremes, and employed them to occupy Byzantium, pillaging and detaining the Ionic merchant-ships as they passed into or out of the Bosphorus.² The few remaining pieces of this worthless traitor, murderous to his countrymen even down to the day of his death, hardly deserve our notice amidst the hot struggles and sufferings of the oppressed Ionians, to which we are now hastening.

A vast Persian force, both military and naval, was gradually concentrating itself near Miletus, against which city Artaphernes had determined to direct his principal efforts. Not only the whole army of Asia Minor, but also the Median and Egyptian troops fresh from the conquest of Cyprus, and even the conquered Cypriote themselves, were brought up as reinforcements; while the entire Phœnician fleet, no less than 800 ships strong, co-operated on the coast.³ To meet such a joint-force in the field was far beyond the strength of the Ionians, and the joint Pan-Ionic council resolved that the Milesians should be left to defend their own fortifications, while the entire force of the moderate cities should be mustered on board the ships. At sea they had no reason to despair, having been victorious over the Phœnicians near Cyprus, and having sustained no defeat. The combined Ionic fleet, including the Æolic Ionians,

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¹ Herodot. vi. 3-11.² Herodot. vi. 3-11.³ Herodot. vi. 3-3.

amounting in all to the number of 385 ships, was accordingly ranged at Lado—down a little island near Hitter, but now joined on to the coast, by the gradual accumulation of land in the bay at the mouth of the Bosphorus. Hittay Miltaria ships formed the right wing, one hundred thirty ships the centre, and sixty Roman ships the left wing, while the space between the Miltaria and the Chorus was composed by twelve ships from Priene, three from Myra, and seventeen from Tule—the space between the Chorus and Samians was filled by eight ships from Erythra, three from Pichon, and twenty from Lesbos.¹

The allied
fleet
was
ranged
as
above.

The total armament thus made up was hardly inferior in number to that which, fifteen years afterwards, joined the battle of Salamis against a far larger Persian fleet than the present. Moreover, the courage of the Ionians, on ship-board, was equal to that of their contemporaries on the other side of the *Ægean*; while in respect of disagreement among the allies, we shall hereafter find the circumstances preceding the battle of Salamis still more menacing than those before the coming battle of Lado. The chances of success therefore were at least equal between the two, and indeed the anticipations of the Persians and Phœnicians on the present occasion were full of doubt, so that they thought it necessary to set on foot express means for dissuading the Ionians.—It was fortunate for the Greeks that Xerxes at Salamis could not be made to conceive the prudence of aiming at the same object. There were now in the Persian camp all those various disputes which Aristagoras, at the beginning of the revolt, had driven out of their respective sides. At the instigation of Actæophontes, each of these men despatched secret communications to their friends in the allied fleet, endeavouring to detach them severally from the general body, by promises of gentle treatment in the event of compliance, and by threats of extreme infliction from the Persians if they persisted in armed efforts. Though these communications were sent to each without the knowledge of the rest, yet the answer from all was one unanimous negative.² The confederates at Lado seemed more one, in heart and spirit,

Anticipation
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by means of
the great
dispute.

¹ Herodot. vi. 8.

² Herodot. vi. 9, 10.

man afterwards purchased that position of national discipline which characterised him at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It will appear, as we proceed with this history, that the full development of the Athenian democracy worked a revolution in Greek military tactics, chiefly by introducing up to the strong season a strict continuous training, such as was only surmounted by the Lacedæmonian drill on land, and by thus reflecting practically a species of nautical manoeuvring, which was unknown even at the time of the battle of Salamis. I shall show this more fully hereafter: at present I content it briefly with the frequency of the lessons at sea, in order that it may be understood how painful such training really was. The reader of Greek history is usually taught to associate only ideas of turbulence and anarchy with the Athenian democracy. But the Athenian navy, the chief and champion of that democracy, will be found to display an indomitable order and discipline nowhere else witnessed in Greece—of which even the first lessons, as in the case now before us, prove to others as Salamis is to ourselves the prospect of extreme and imminent peril. The same impatience of steady toil and discipline, which the Ionians displayed to their own ruin before the battle of Ledy, will be found to characterise them fifty years afterwards as allies of Athens, as I shall have occasion to show when I come to describe the Athenian empire.

Ending in this abrupt and pathetic manner, the fallacious suggestions of the Peloponnesian leader did more harm than good. Perhaps his manner of dealing may have been unadvisedly rude; but we are surprised to see that no one among the leaders of the larger contingents had the good sense to avoid himself of the first readiness of the Ionians, and to employ his superior resources in securing the continuance of a good practice once begun. Not one such superior man did this Ionian revolt throw up. From the day in which the Ionians deserted Lacedæmon, their camp became a scene of disorder and idleness. Some of them grew so reckless and ungovernable, that the better portion despaired of maintaining any orderly battle; and the Spartans in particular now repeated that they had declined the secret offer

made to them by their expelled despot.—This son of Ephesus. They went privately to secure the negotiation, secured a fresh promise of the same indulgence, and agreed to desert when the women arrived. On the day of battle, when the two fleets were on the point of coming to action, the many Ionian ships all sailed off, except eleven whose captains declared such treachery. Other Ionians followed their example; but amidst the reciprocal execration which Hierokles had kindled, he took it difficult to determine who was most to blame, though he named the Lesbians as among the wildest deserters.¹ The hundred ships from Chios, constituting the centre of the fleet—each ship carrying forty seven soldiers fully armed—formed a brilliant exception to the rest. They fought with the greatest fidelity and resolution, inflicting upon the enemy, and themselves sustaining, heavy loss. Euxarpes the Phliarian also behaved in a manner worthy of his previous language, and captured with his three ships the like number of Phoenicians. But such examples of bravery did not compensate the treachery or cowardice of the rest. The defeat of the Ionians at Laré was complete as well as irreparable. To the faithful Chians, the loss was terrible both in the battle and after it; for though some of their vessels escaped from the defeat safely to Chios, others were so damaged as to be obliged to run ashore close at hand on the promontory of Mytilé, where the crews quitted them, with the intention of marching northward through the Ephesian territory to the continent opposite their own island. We hear with astonishment that at that critical moment the Ephesian women were engaged in celebrating the Thesmophoria,—a festival celebrated at night, in the open air, in some uninhabited portion of the territory, and without the presence of any male person. As the Chian fugitives entered the Ephesian territory by night, their coming being neither known nor anticipated, it was believed that they were thieves or pirates coming to seize the women, and under this error they were attacked by the Ephesians and slain.² It would seem from this incident that the Ephesians had taken no part in the Ionic war, nor are they mentioned amidst the various

Constant history of the Phœnians that of high-rate of the Ionian fleet—capture of the Chians.

¹ Herodot. vi. 118.

² Herodot. vi. 114, 115.

³ Herodot. vi. 115.

contingents; nor is anything said either of Babylon, or Lakhah, or Eran.¹

The Phoenician *Ud-ay-ha*, perceiving that the defeat of Lakhah was the ruin of the house thereof, and that his nation was ^{again} doomed to Persian subjection, did not think it prudent even to return home. Immediately after the battle he set sail, not for Phoenicia, but for the Phoenician coast, at this moment stripped of its protecting crests. He saved several Phoenician merchantmen, out of which considerable profit was derived: then setting sail for Sicily, he undertook the composition of a privy councillor for Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, shielding from injury towards Greece.² Such an employment seems then to have been considered perfectly allowable. A considerable body of slaves also subjected to Sady, lodged at the treasury of their admirals in the battle, and yet more independent at the approaching restoration of their despot Eabab. How these Semitic emigrants became established in the Median town of Eakab,³ I shall mention as a part of the course of Median events, which will come hereafter.

The victory of Lakhah enabled the Persians to attack Mithras by sea as well as by land; they presented the siege with the utmost vigour, by undermining the walls, and by various ^{ways} of attack. Their resources in this respect seem to have been enlarged since the days of Harpagus. In no long time the city was taken by storm, and miserable was the fate reserved to it. The adult male population was chiefly slain; while such of them as were preserved, together with the women and children, were sent as a body to Iran to swell the ranks of *Iranian*, who assigned to them a residence at Anap, not far from the mouth of the Tigris. The temple at Bacthalah was burnt and pillaged, as Hekatomas had predicted at the beginning of the revolt. The large treasure therein contained must have gone far to defray the costs of the Persian army. The Median treasury is said to have been altogether despoiled of its former

¹ Herod. vii. 12.

² Herod. vi. 115. *infelix* inscription.

³ *Median* city of the Medes, Cappadocia and Phrygia.

⁴ Herod. vi. 115-116.

neighbouring towns in Korea; and during the next summer—the Phœnician fleet having wintered at Melito—the Persian forces by sea and land reconquered all the Asiatic Greece, besides as well as continental.¹ Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos—the towns in the Chæcanian—Selyndria, and Paros in Thracian—Proconnesus and Attica in the Propontis—all these towns were taken or sacked by the Persian and Phœnician fleet.² The inhabitants

The Phœnician fleet reconquered all the most fertile and richest islands.

Many groups of prisoners from these islands.

of Ispartion and Chalkidike fled for the most part, without even awaiting the arrival, to Macedonia; while the Athenians only escaped Persian captivity by a rapid flight from their ships in the Chæcanian to Athens. His pursuers were ordered to shoot upon him, that one of his ships, with his son Megasthenes on board, fell into their hands. As Miltiades had been strenuous in opposing the destruction of the bridge over the Ister, on the western of the Scythian expedition, the Phœnicians were particularly anxious to get possession of his person, as the most acceptable of all Greek presents to the Persian king; who however, when Miltiades the son of Miltiades was brought to Susa, not only did him no harm, but treated him with great kindness, and gave him a Persian wife with a comfortable maintenance.³

For otherwise did the Persian generals deal with the conquered cities on and near the coast. The throats which had been held out before the battle of Laili were wedged in the fall. The most beautiful Greek youths and virgins were picked out, to be distributed among the Persian generals as presents or inmates of the harem. The wives, with their children served as well as prizes, were made a

work, p. 190. He attempts to show that Megasthenes actually reconquered the island, which, as Herodotus declares it, cannot be done, because there were then four gorges; but his reasoning is in my opinion unsatisfactory, and the evidence inconclusive. The statement of the historian, as to the water poured between the two rivers, is at least three centuries older than our supposed meaning of the fable.

It is vain, I think, to try to arrange these details according to precise years: this can only be done very

loosely.

¹ Herodotus, vi. 35.

² Herodotus, vi. 35—39. It may perhaps be this Herodotus and not one of the tales in the Propontis and on the Asiatic side of the Propontis, who speaks of the Phœnicians taking Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos; though he mentions the proceeding as a Phœnician action, as the tale of justice that the Athenians would never give him to punish themselves upon him for attacking them, and that the women on the coast would furnish them with vessels for the passage.

³ Herodotus, vi. 41.

jury to the houses; and in the case of the island, Harbordt even tells us that a line of Forts was formed from shore to shore, which swept each territory from north to south, and drove the inhabitants out of it! That much of this bad treatment is well founded, there can be no doubt. But it must be exaggerated as to extent of depopulation and destruction, for those island and cities appear ever afterwards as occupied by a German population, and even as in a tolerable, though reduced condition. Buenos was made an exception to the rest, and completely spared by the Peruvians, as a reward to its captains for setting the example of devotion at the battle of Lala; while Kala the depot of that island was maintained in his government.¹ It appears that several other depots were maintained at the same time in their respective cities, though we are not told which.

Amidst the sufferings endured by so many innocent persons, of every age and of both sexes, the fate of Hatzon-victor was but little sympathized. He was carrying on his private ^{Hatzon-victor and his wife of St. Thomas.} at Myra when he learnt the surrender of KIKIA; he then thought it expedient to sail with his Lesbian vessels for Chios, where also silence was refused to him. But the Chians, weakened as they had been by the late battle, were in little condition to resist, so that he defeated their troops and despoiled the island. During the present break-up of the *deserte Greeks*, there were doubtless many who (like the Philonian Dionysius) did not choose to return home to an unshared city, yet had no fixed plan for a new abode. Of these exiles, a considerable number put themselves under the temporary command of Hatzon, and accompanied him to the plunder of Thessalon. While halting at that town, he learnt the news that the Philonians had just quitted Myra to attack the remaining *deserte towns*. He therefore left his designs on Thessalon unfinished, in order to go and defend Myra. But in this latter island the dearth of provisions was such, that he was forced to cross over to the continent to reap the standing corn, around Atarnes and in the fertile plain of Myra near the river Kikias. Here he fell in with a considerable Peruvian force under Harpagus—was beaten, compelled to flee, and taken prisoner. On his being carried to

¹ Harbordt, *op. cit.* p. 11, 12, 13.
² Harbordt, *op. cit.*

³ Harbordt, *op. cit.* p. 11, 12. *op. cit.* *op. cit.*
 and similar expressions.

with him the full tide of Athenian sympathy, while dwelling on the victories of Salamis and Plataea. But to interest the audience in Persian success and Grecian suffering was a task in which much greater poets than Pylæstides would have failed, and which no judicious poet would have undertaken. The sack of Magdeburg by Count Tilly, in the Thirty Years' War, was not likely to be endured as the subject of dramatic representation in any Protestant town of Germany.

END OF VOL. III.



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